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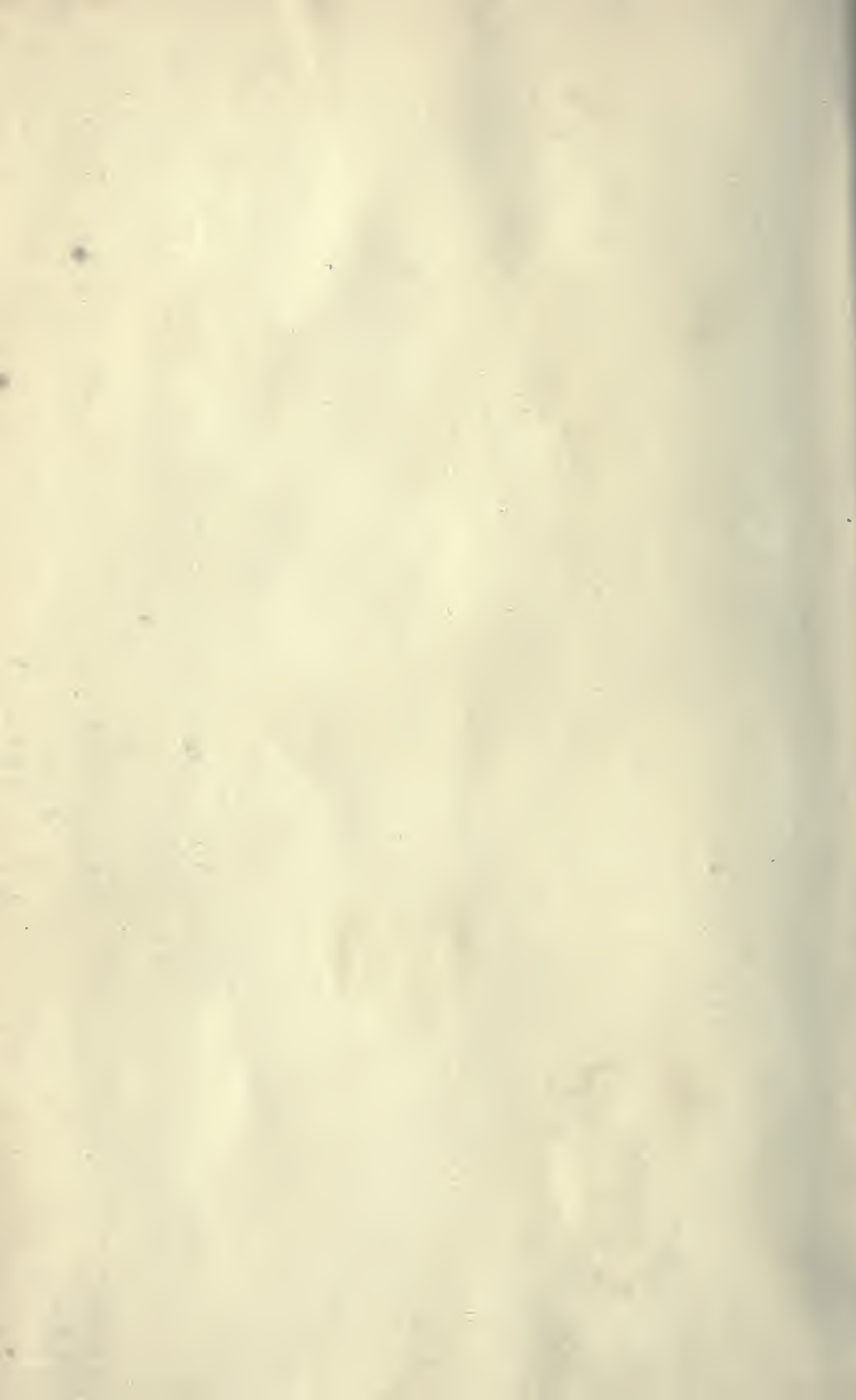
May 8th 1917

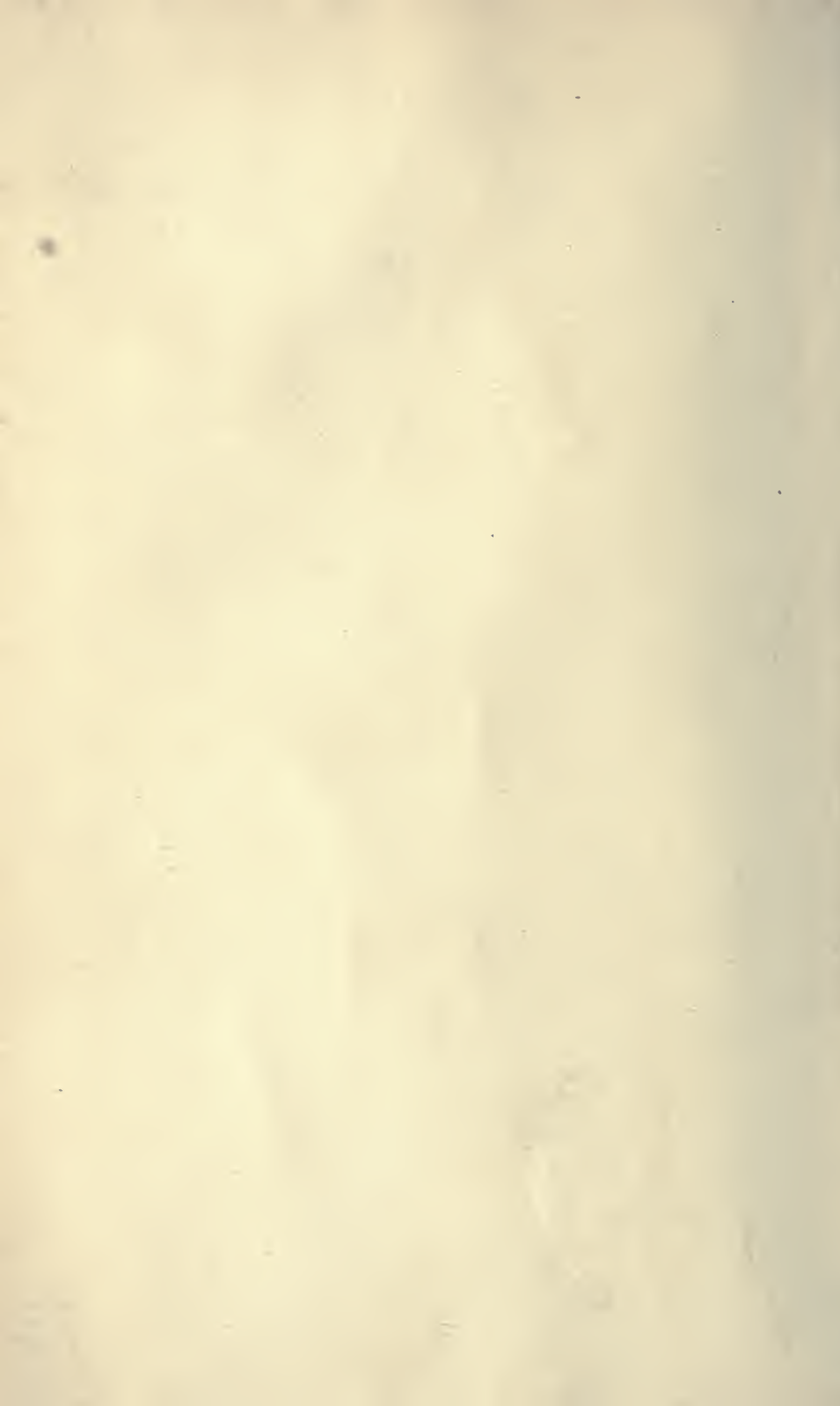
31, FARM STREET,
BERKELEY SQUARE,
LONDON, W.

Dear Mother Pious

Here is the little selection of my
articles which I ask you to accept, on this
occasion of your Golden Jubilee, as a mark
of the affectionate interest I take in you
and your community, and in the convent where
I have spent so many happy hours.

I have arranged the papers not
altogether according to the order of time. but
so as to illustrate some lines of Catholic
progress that have marked the Church's history,
particularly in those days of the Catholic Revival
in our own land. On these sheets of our





The Peace of Constantine.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Peace of Constantine.

OURS is an age which loves to keep jubilees and centenaries, and, though the fashion is apt to run to excess, it is in itself to be encouraged. It is good on occasion to be reminded forcibly of some one or other of those past events which had an important significance for their own times and led on to far-reaching consequences. To one such event well worthy of celebration, the sixteenth centenary of which occurs this year, our attention has just been called by the Supreme Pontiff, who takes occasion to proclaim a universal jubilee to commemorate it. It is the Edict of Milan, of the spring of 313, by which the Emperor Constantine, fresh from his victory over the tyrant, Maxentius, at the Milvian Bridge, gave, in conjunction with his colleague Licinius, an assured legal position, for the first time in their history, to the adherents of the Christian religion. The precise nature of this jubilee—proclaimed by the Apostolic Letter, *Magni faustique*, of March 8, 1913—and of the conditions under which it can be gained, is being notified by the Bishops in their several dioceses, and can be gathered from the reports in the Catholic press. But it is becoming that, at the head of this article, we should cite the brief passage in which Pius X. sets before the world the special feature in the historical event which he desires us to commemorate:

Nothing [he says in his Apostolic Letter *Magni faustique* of March 8, 1913] could be more fitting and opportune than the celebration of the Edict promulgated at Milan by the Emperor Constantine the Great, following close upon the victory over Maxentius obtained under the glorious Standard of the Cross—the Edict which put an end to the cruel persecution of the Christians and placed them in possession of the liberty bought at the price of the Blood of the Divine Redeemer and the Martyrs. Then at last the Church Militant gained the first of those triumphs which throughout its history have invariably followed persecutions of every sort, and from that day ever increasing benefits have

accrued to the human race. For men, abandoning by degrees the superstitious worship of idols, in their laws, customs, and institutions followed ever more the rule of Christian life, and so it came to pass that justice and love flourished together upon the earth.

To appreciate the full force of these words we need to remind ourselves of the circumstances under which this Edict of Milan was issued, of the causes deep laid in the history of the three previous centuries which called it forth.

When, after the Ascension of our Blessed Lord, His Apostles, returning to Jerusalem, pondered over the terms of the commission they had just received, its stupendous character, weighed in the balance of human probabilities, must have appalled them. True, they were very different men from what they had been in the past, now that their faith was confirmed by the many intimate conversations they had held with their risen Lord during the forty days. Yet they were still only a few "unlettered men of the lower sort," who knew no language save their own, who had never been outside their own small country, who had little in common with the Gentile officials who dwelt in their midst, not to speak of the party in power and influence among the Jews, which held them in hatred and contempt. How was it possible that they should obtain a hearing from all nations, gather disciples from their midst, and establish a world-wide rule of spiritual authority over so vast a number as their Master's words seemed to predict?

And yet what must have seemed so incredible to human eyes, came to pass in a measure that fell not short of the consummation foreshadowed. The period covered by the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of St. Peter and Paul did not reach four decades from the time of St. Peter's first discourse on the day of Pentecost, yet these writings show that by the end of that period solid and flourishing Christian foundations had already been established, not only in Judæa and Samaria, but in the very heart of the Gentile world, in the principal cities of Syria, Asia Minor, Thrace and Greece, perhaps, also in parts of Spain (Rom. xv. 24, 28), and Gaul (2 Tim. iv. 90), whilst the very capital city of the Empire had already commenced to become the centre of Christian influence. The general tenour of the Acts and the Epistles places this much beyond doubt, but, as illustrating the extent of the impression made by the Apostolic teaching, careful attention should be paid to such references as are

to be found in Acts xvii. 6 ("Those who have convulsed the whole world are come here to Thessalonica"), *ibid.* xviii. 10 ("I have much people in this city of Corinth"), *ibid.* xix. 24—27 (where the effects of St. Paul's preaching at Ephesus are declared by Demetrius to be so extensive as to endanger the trade-interests of those who depended for their living on the worship of Diana); and again, in Rom. i. 8, where it is declared of the faith of the Roman Christians that it is "proclaimed through the whole world," and 1 Thess. i. 8, where from Thessalonica, through the faith of its Christian sons, the word of the Lord is said to have "sounded forth, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place."

In keeping, too, with those marvellous beginnings was the marvellous growth of this new faith during the succeeding centuries which formed the primitive period of the Church's history. Numerous testimonies, borne by Christian and pagan writers alike, certify how steady and persistent was its progress. With each generation its adherents multiplied in number, its borders were extended, its social penetration deepened, its institutions developed. No competent modern historian, of whatever school of thought, will dispute these facts so far, and Professor Harnack has summarized them in a short but striking passage which brings out well the fulness of their significance:

Seventy years after the foundation of the first Gentile Church in Syrian Antioch, Pliny wrote to Trajan concerning the spread of Christianity through remote Bithynia, where in his judgment it threatened the stability of the old cults of the province. Seventy years later still, the Paschal controversy reveals the existence of a Christian federation of Churches, stretching from Lyons to Edessa, with its headquarters at Rome. Seventy years later again the Emperor Decius declared he would sooner see a rival claimant to his throne spring up at Rome than a new Bishop to fill the see there then vacant. And ere another seventy years had passed, the cross was attached to the Roman colours.¹

Moreover, to quote from Mgr. Batiffol:

The rapidity with which Christianity was propagated during the first three centuries . . . is not the only fact that should make the historian wonder; the internal and organic development of Christianity is still more wonderful. Far from being, as is claimed by Protestant historians, a series of crises and trans-

¹ *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums.* Vol. ii. p. 285.

formations that could only have brought forth differentiations and dislocations, Christendom showed itself to be a catholicity, a unity, a homogeneity; it was such in the year 200—and in the year 250, after an existence of two centuries. The monarchical episcopate has none of the features of a successful *coup d'État*: the Roman primacy has none of the features of a high-handed conquest; the unanimity of the Churches has none of the features of a slow and painful labour, with organized endeavours, successes, and reverses . . . Catholicism grew like a tree (the comparison goes back to St. Paul) which expands in keeping with the law of its nature, under the continued assistance of God Himself, by whom it had been planted.¹

Far be it from us to deny that there were predisposing causes in the conditions of the times which inclined the purer and more generous minds to regard this new religion with wistful eyes. Men had grown weary of the life they had inherited from the past. The worship of their traditional gods had been found out, and was generally discredited. True, a courageous effort had been made by the Emperor Augustus and his immediate successors, who realized the necessity of a national religion for the cultivation of a national spirit, to impart a new form to the ancient idolatry by associating it intimately with the majesty of the Empire as embodied in the person of its Sovereign. But this re-organization of idolatry as a State religion could only influence externals, it could not penetrate deep down into men's hearts, or furnish a satisfying answer to the cravings which were stimulated by the growing tendency to monotheism, the growing sense of the distinction between body and soul, between flesh and spirit, and the growing need of a redemption which should emancipate the latter from the thralldom of the former. Then, too, there was the reaction on such minds caused by the appalling dissolution of morals consequent on the decay of all sense of moral obligation, by the enormous wealth of those in power and the myriads of slaves whom they could convert at will into instruments of their lust, by the necessity of humouring the general population which induced its rulers to cater so recklessly for its pleasures. Philosophers might declaim against this reign of vice, and pronounce their panegyrics on the delights of virtue. But too often these self-same men belied their fine words by the manner of their lives, and thereby strengthened the general feeling that human

¹ *Primitive Catholicism*, Eng. Ed., p. 411.

nature was too weak to resist the all-enveloping flood. What wonder if such as were striving to hold up against this fearful environment, or to rescue themselves, if it might be, from its tenacious grasp, should be attracted towards the new people who were growing up in their midst, and displaying to their gaze a code of religious beliefs which seemed really to meet the questionings of their perplexed minds, a moral code not only clean but lofty, not only preached but lived, and a spirit of pity which contrasted strangely with the prevailing callousness and poured balm into the wounds of the suffering and the disinherited.

Still, if Christianity had these attractions for the *anima humana naturaliter Christiana*, the revolt of evil minds against so stern a creed set the most formidable obstacles in the path of those who would embrace it. We, in this country, whose destinies have been linked with the fortunes of Catholicism since the Reformation, can appreciate the character of those obstacles, for they resembled in kind, but exceeded in degree, what our own forefathers, and to a less extent we ourselves, have had to encounter as the penalty of loyalty to the faith. In those pagan days, under the Empire, it was hardly possible to take part in the national life and yet escape the contamination of its idolatrous rites, or the cruelty, or the impurity which were inextricably mixed up with its public ceremonies, with its banquets, with its theatres, even with the daily intercourse of business or friendship. That in itself might seem only a hardship. But the Christians appeared to their pagan neighbours to be "atheists," in that they disbelieved in the national gods, "haters of mankind," in that they kept so much apart from their fellow-men, "upholders of a degrading superstition," by reason of the revolting practices with which they were credited, of deifying a crucified malefactor, of adoring an ass's head, of sacrificing infants and drinking their blood, of resorting to magic arts with the malevolent purpose of bringing calamities on their country. Such things were said of the Christians by those who professed to know, and the calumnies were kept up, in spite of the disapprovals and protests of those defamed, just as the similar calumnies against Catholics in England, notwithstanding their absurdity, have been kept alive through one generation after another, by the strong prejudices of those who would not take the pains to inquire.

If to the influence of these strange calumnies, so dili-

gently circulated among the people, we add the further circumstance that oftentimes their trade-interests were, or appeared to be endangered by the multiplication of conversions, we have the chief causes which made the Christians to be disliked by the lower orders, and led to their being frequently the victims of popular risings, or local persecutions, into which the magistrates were willingly or unwillingly driven by the fury of the rioters. In the earliest period these seem to have been the sole causes of the maltreatment to which they were subjected, the magistrates, as in the case of Gallio, holding themselves aloof from questions of belief which they treated with disdain. But from the time of Nero the profession of Christianity came to be regarded as in itself a State offence. There is little doubt but that Nero's own action in setting on foot the great persecution of 64 to 67 was to draw off attention from his own incendiarism by ascribing it to the Christians, but, though in the first instance this charge was maintained, no endeavour to bring it home to individuals was attempted; the one charge made against them individually was that they were Christians, and as such, "enemies of the human race." And from that time forth, though possibly no definite edict then proclaimed it, the principle was accepted that Christians were not to be. "Nero," says Tertullian, "was the first to draw the imperial sword and to rage against this sect." How the principle was applied depended largely on the character of the individual Emperors. From the correspondence of Trajan (112) with Pliny the Younger, we learn, how under a mild Emperor the rule was that Christians should not be sought out, but if any should be brought before the magistrate accused of being such, they should be given the offer of purging their offence by apostasy, but if they refused they should be put to death, a rule the effect of which was mitigated by the Roman custom of the *lex talionis*, according to which an accuser who could not prove his charge against the accused was liable to bear the penalty of the offence himself. Under this system there were periods when, though martyrdoms were by no means unknown, the Christians enjoyed comparative peace, and times when persecutions became fierce and general. Of the latter, in the first century, there were, subsequent to that of Nero, those of Domitian and Trajan, in the second those of Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and Septimus Severus (193-211). In the third century

the Church enjoyed a period of quiet lasting some forty years, but then, with the accession of the Emperor Decius (249-251) began a series of persecutions which differed from the foregoing in that they were proclaimed by Edict, and the magistrates were directed not to wait for the initiative of formal accusers, but to set their own officials to search out all the Christians they could find. This was done in the Decian persecution on a most systematic plan, and was especially directed against the Bishops and clergy, the punishments resorted to being of exceptional cruelty, so that this persecution was reckoned as exceeding in severity all that had gone before it. It lasted, indeed, but two years, Decius then dying, but it was renewed shortly after under Valerian, and again fifteen years later in the last year of Aurelian, with whose death another period of tranquillity ensued and persisted till the last and greatest of all the persecutions under the pagan Emperors, that of Diocletian, broke out in 303.

Looking back on this period of 200 years, beginning with Nero, and ending with Aurelian, we ask ourselves what must have been the number of the martyrs who suffered during its course, and what was the character of their torments, seeking thus to estimate the measure of Christian endurance with which the early Church passed through the ordeal. With this problem historical criticism has been occupied ever since the end of the seventeenth century, when Dodwell, disputing the traditional belief well-expressed by St. Augustine, that "the whole world known to the Romans had been purpled with Christian blood," brought out his treatise on the small number of the martyrs (*De paucitate martyrum*). Dodwell was not himself an opponent of Christianity, but his thesis had attractions for those who were, and with these for a time it obtained acceptance. No one would take this view now. Many, indeed the majority, of the Passions of the martyrs that have come down to us, being compositions of a later age, and bearing on their face the signs of spuriousness, can no longer be relied upon, and in this way we lose some touching narratives such as those of St. Agnes, St. Cecilia and St. Laurence, which it is hard to part with. Still the same critical processes which have required the surrender of so many have brought into clearer light the authenticity of certain of the *Acta* and contemporary reports of the martyrdoms. To this class belong the Martyrdom of Polycarp, Justin, the Martyrs of Lyons, the Scillitan Martyrs, Perpetua, Cyprian, Fructuosus and a

few others,¹ and these, if few in number, are quite sufficient to give us a vivid insight into the nature of the trials, and of the torments which were wont to be inflicted on the martyrs. But, if for the pre-Diocletian martyrdoms we are thus restricted in our authentic narratives the many references to the subject in the contemporary writers, Christian and pagan, together with the multitudinous archæological finds in the Roman Catacombs, place it altogether beyond doubt that the number who perished for their constancy during this long period was enormous. This is freely admitted by such writers as Mommsen, Renan, Harnack, Ramsay, and Boissier. Thus M. Boissier, summing up his study of the references to the persecution in the Christian and pagan writers, says, somewhat grudgingly, it is true:

We have to set before us this unbroken chain of testimonies, and to reflect that in reality the persecution, with more or less intensity, lasted two centuries and a half, and extended to the whole world then known; that the law against the Christians was never completely abrogated until the day of the Church's victory, and that even in the seasons of truce and respite, when the community was able to breathe, the judge could not refuse to apply this law whenever a transgressor was brought before his tribunal; we shall then be convinced that it is possible to push Dodwell's opinions too far, and that, even if the victims who perished on any one occasion and in any one place were few in number, in the aggregate they form a considerable number.²

We have been reserving the Diocletian persecution to be taken separately. It was the final conflict between the Pagan Empire and the Church, and it exceeded in extent, in duration, in ferocity, in relentlessness, all that had gone before. During the forty years of toleration which lasted from the death of Valerian, broken only by the one year's persecution of Aurelian, the Christian community had greatly increased in numbers, and, profiting by the right to possess corporate property, which by a curious inconsistency had apparently been acquired at the very time of the bitter persecutions of Decius and Valerian, they had ventured to build their churches in the open, and impart splendour to their worship. No inconsiderable fraction, too, of their body had risen to high office in the imperial administration, and even to responsible positions at the Court; whilst of the growth of the

¹ See P. Delchaye's *Legends of the Saints*, p. 119.

² *La fin du Paganisme*, p. 4.

general body by the beginning of the fourth century, M. Harnack's estimate is that in Asia Minor, Southern Thrace, Cyprus, Armenia and Edessa they made almost a half of the population, and theirs was the dominant religion; at Antioch and Cœle-Syria, Egypt and the Thebaid, especially at Alexandria, at Rome and Central and Southern Italy, Proconsular Africa, Numidia, Spain, parts of Greece, and Southern Gaul, they formed a notable part of the population and could well compete in influence with paganism; in Palestine, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, parts of Greece and North Italy they were less numerous; whilst north of the Black Sea, in North-West Italy, Northern Gaul, Germany and Britain their numbers were inappreciable.

Diocletian came to the throne in 284. Feeling that the Empire was too large for one sovereign to rule, in 286 he associated with himself Maximian Hercules as co-Augustus; and six years later, making a further division, introduced a class of emperors of the second rank under the name of Cæsars. Two Cæsars were thus appointed, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, the idea being that in due time, on the death or resignation of the Augusti, these Cæsars should succeed to the first rank. Diocletian took up his residence at Nicomedia, and had immediate charge of the Eastern division of the Empire, Maximian Hercules had his residence at Milan, and took charge of Italy, Africa and Mauretania, Galerius was given charge of the Illyrian and Mœsian frontiers, and Constantius of Britain, Gaul and, later, of Spain. In 305 Diocletian and Maximian retired, and Galerius and Constantius become Augusti; Maximin Daia, the nephew of Galerius, and Severus were then made Cæsars, the former being given the charge of Egypt and Syria, the latter of Italy and Africa. These appointments, however, being made to advance the policy of Galerius, who sought to become sole Augustus, were displeasing to Constantine, who, on the death of his father, Constantius, in 306, was proclaimed Cæsar, and, shortly after, Augustus, by the army at York, an advancement which, feeling his comparative weakness, Galerius was forced to ratify. Also at Rome, in 306, Galerius having sought to tax the citizens in violation of their long-established privilege of exemption, the latter rose up and elected Maxentius, the son of Maximian, to the rank of Augustus. In the consequent strife between Maxentius and Severus the latter was defeated and compelled to commit

suicide in 307, on which Galerius, in prosecution of his own policy, made Licinius a Cæsar. In 311 Galerius died of a loathsome disease, having first recognized both Maximin Daia and Licinius as Augusti. Thus there were now four Augusti living, but Maxentius was drowned in the Tiber after his defeat at the Milvian Bridge in October, 312, and Maximin Daia died shortly after his defeat by Licinius near Heraclea, in the spring of 313. Thus only Constantine and Licinius remained, Constantine in charge of the West, Licinius of the East. This continued till 324, when Licinius, accused of plotting against his fellow-Augustus, was defeated by him at Chrysopolis, and shortly afterwards executed. Thus Constantine became sole Emperor. It is necessary to bear in mind these confusing particulars if one wishes to understand the history of the Diocletian persecution and of the peace which terminated it.

Diocletian had reigned for many years without displaying the smallest hostility to his Christian subjects. On the contrary, he seems to have treated them with singular favour, filling the offices of his Court with them and allowing them perfect freedom of worship within its precincts. What then induced him to change his mind so seriously in the eighteenth year of his reign? In an Edict addressed by Constantine, after he had become sole Emperor, to "the Provincial Governors in the East,"¹ he answers this question. His account is that the Oracle of Apollo declared itself unable to utter true predictions on account of the presence of "the just men" on earth. Diocletian on this went about asking who these just men were, until one of the pagan priests told him they were the Christians. As Constantine was at Nicomedia at the time when the persecution broke out he should know. At the same time it was Galerius, according to the contemporary writer Lactantius,² who was the prime mover in the whole affair. Diocletian, says Lactantius, resisted at first, but he had become almost a tool in the hands of Galerius, and when the latter persuaded him that a fire which broke out in the palace at Nicomedia, which he was himself suspected of causing, was in truth the work of the Christians, the old man's indignation broke forth. This was in 303, and from that time there was

¹ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, lib. ii. and 50.

² *De morte persecutorum*, cap. x. and xiv.

no limit to the lengths he was prepared to go. Four edicts in quick succession proclaimed an universal proscription of the Christian religion. By the first, the churches everywhere were to be destroyed, the sacred writings burnt, and Christians deprived of all their civil rights; by the second, all the clergy were ordered to chains and imprisonment; by the third, torments were prescribed for those who would not sacrifice to the gods of the Empire; by the fourth, death itself was to be the penalty of all who remained constant. Orders were sent likewise to Maximian in Italy and Constantius in Gaul to enforce these edicts, Maximian gladly complying with a measure which gratified his own inclinations, but Constantius confining himself to half-hearted measures for the destruction of some of the churches. Of the particulars of this persecution in the West, we have little information. For its history, as it was carried out in the East, we have the advantage of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, who was not only a contemporary, but an eye-witness of much which he records, and whose narrative is marked by the moderation and accuracy which is so characteristic of him. His eighth book should be read at this time by those interested in the present centenary, but for those who have not access to his History, the following extracts will be of use as illustrations of what was occurring on all sides in the East for eight long years and more.

He begins with an account of the martyrs who had belonged to the imperial household and gives details about one of them, named Peter, "that it may appear what happened also to the others." This Peter had to appear before the princes [Diocletian and Galerius] . . . and when he refused to sacrifice he was first "hanged up, and being stark naked, had his whole body lacerated with whips . . ." "Being still unmoved, his bones, now laid bare, were drenched with a mixture of vinegar and salt, which was poured into such parts of his body as were most torn. Then they brought a gridiron with fire laid on it, and what remained of his body was set close to the flame . . . that he might perish by slow stages. But he kept his resolution without yielding, and amidst these tortures, triumphantly gave up his soul."

Soon after, "at Melitene and other places in Syria," Eusebius tells us that an immense multitude were put in prison so that the prisons, which in each locality had been prepared long since for assassins and grave-robbers, were now filled

with bishops, priests, deacons, lectors and exorcists, until no further room was left in them for condemned criminals:

We know well [he continues] those who signalized themselves in Palestine, but we know likewise those Egyptians who signalized themselves at Tyre in Phenicia. Who could fail to be struck with admiration as he gazed on the interminable flagellations inflicted, on the marvellous endurance of those athletes of religion, and, when the whips had ceased, on the contests with the wild beasts set to destroy them, on the bounding leopards, on the bears, on the wild boars, on the bulls spurred on with fire and steel, and the astonishing constancy of those brave men as they confronted these beasts one after another. We have ourselves been present at these scenes, and have seen how the divine power of our Saviour, Jesus Christ Himself, to whom these martyrs bore testimony, was present and manifested itself visibly to them: for the voracious beasts for a long time did not dare to touch them, or even approach their bodies, and yet cast themselves at once against those others who standing outside the arena spurred them on by their provocations. . . .

We must also marvel at those [Egyptians] who rendered their testimony in their own country. These ten thousand men, with their women and children, for the teaching of Christ, despised this transitory life and endured various kinds of death. After being tortured with iron scrapers, rackings, most cruel scourgings, and a thousand other varieties of torments, the bare mention of which makes one tremble, were cast, some into the fire, others into the sea. Others bravely bowed their heads to the executioners, others were devoured by hunger. Others, again, were crucified, some after the manner usual with malefactors, others in a still more cruel manner, with their heads nailed downwards, and kept alive till they died on the gibbet itself of starvation.

In the Thebaid, Eusebius assures us that the cruelties inflicted passed all conception, and he mentions how "women were hung up by one foot with their heads downward, and their bodies entirely naked, offering a most ignominious, cruel and inhuman sight to the eyes of the spectators," how, too, "others were attached by the legs to branches of trees, the branches being brought together by means of some mechanism, and then set free to return to their natural position"; and he notes that "these punishments did not last for a few days only, or for a short period, but for whole years." Also, in illustration of the number of the sufferers, he says, "we have seen ourselves a great number of Christians suffer *en masse* the same day, some by decapitation, others by burning,

with the result that the swords which slew them got blunted and unable to cut, and the slayers themselves becoming exhausted had to succeed one another by relays." "And then," he adds, "that we witnessed the admirable courage, the truly divine strength and zeal of those who believed in the Christ of God. . . Fearlessly and boldly they spoke out of the worship of the God who made the world, and received with joy, with smiling lips, and cheerful mien, the final sentence of death; and they sang hymns and returned thanks to the God of the world, up to their last breath."

Lactantius, another contemporary historian, confirms the testimony of Eusebius, as to the general character of this persecution, but the extracts given show conclusively what an appalling calamity it was, indeed make one marvel that the object which its instigators had in view, the entire extermination of the Christian name, should not have been attained. But the end came at last, and it was realized that the proscribed religion, armed though it had been solely with the arms of firm faith and patient endurance, so far from being exterminated, had increased the number of its adherents, and had achieved a splendid victory. The persecution lasted in all ten years, from the publication of Diocletian's Edict at Nicomedia in 303 to the publication of Constantine's Edict at Milan in 313. During the first two years of its course, except for the Prefecture of Gaul, where Constantius held power, it embraced both East and West. But after the retirement of Diocletian and Maximian Hercules in 305, it calmed down throughout the West, Severus, looking to Constantius as his chief, and Maxentius, cruel and worthless as he was, finding it to his interest to stand well with a body so numerous. On the other hand, in the East, where Galerius, the prime instigator of the persecution, and Maximin Daia, his still more savage nephew, had absolute power, it continued unabated for six more years. Then came a short respite due to the strangest of reasons; for Galerius fell ill of a loathsome disease, and, as if to reveal to the world the depths of the bad faith in which he had acted, published an Edict of Toleration—that the Christians might, in their gratitude for his clemency, beseech their God for his safe recovery. Barefaced, however, as was the motive of this act, Eusebius compares the effect to that of a sunbeam suddenly breaking through the dark clouds. All the roads and the forums were filled with the released captives, who sang for joy as they

went along; they came together at once for public worship as before, whilst the pagans, looking on in wonder, "exclaimed that the God whom the Christians worshipped was alone great and true." But these rejoicings were premature. Galerius died, and before six months were out, Maximin Daia had found a pretext for renewing the persecution, and even, says Eusebius, for making it more bitter than before. The real end was not to come till two years later.

Meanwhile, in the far West, Constantine, the son and successor of Constantius Chlorus, was giving constant proof of his military talent and administrative power, in his defence and good government of his portion of the Empire. He was becoming, too, increasingly liked by his soldiers and his subjects, who saw his good qualities and tolerant disposition. But as time ran on it became more and more clear that, if he was to maintain his position against attempts made to overthrow him, he must try conclusions with his brother-in-law, Maxentius, now tyrannizing at Rome. Accordingly, he invaded Italy in 312, and successfully overcame the armies sent against him by Maxentius, in several battles in the Northern part of the Peninsula. As he pursued his march southwards he pondered on the perilous nature of his enterprise. He had not been at Rome before and was ill-acquainted with the physical features of the surrounding country. His opponent's army was far superior in numbers to his, which, save for the trained Roman legions which had stood by him in Gaul, consisted of Gallic troops. Moreover, there was a sacredness about Rome which might make even his own legions, tried legions, or even himself, unwilling to invade it. Thus pondering, and also reflecting on the testimony to the Christian religion, which he discerned in the constancy of the martyrs, and, contrariwise, in the fearful death of so many of their persecutors, he looked up one day towards the declining sun shortly after midday and saw set over it a cross of light, on the summit of which were the letters XP¹ and the words *hoc vinces* ("in this shalt thou conquer"). Eusebius, who tells the story in his *Life of Constantine*,² assures us he had from Constantine's own lips, confirmed by his oath, adding that, being perplexed as to the meaning of the vision, the Emperor was enlightened that same night by a vision in which Christ appeared to him, bearing a cross of the same

¹ The first two letters of the word *χριστός*.

² Lib. I, cc. 28, 29.

kind, and bidding him to fashion it into a standard, under whose protection he must fight. Those who disbelieve in the possibility of miracles may set this down as a subjective fancy, but at least they must recognize that it is well attested and that it was the means of inspiring Constantine with a full confidence. So he marched on, and arriving at the Saxa Rubra on the Flaminian Way, nine miles outside the city, he found that Maxentius had made the strategical mistake of bringing his army outside, so that there was no question of invading the city, and of taking up a position in which he could not use to advantage his superior numbers, whilst it allowed his skilful opponent to get behind him, and occupy the Milvian Bridge, by which the Flaminian Way crosses the Tiber. Three times did Constantine attack him, eventually forcing his troops back to the river, in which many of them perished, Maxentius being among them. Thus was victory won, and the conqueror, entering the city, was at once welcomed as having delivered it from the tyranny under which it had been groaning. For a while he remained within its walls, seeking to conciliate the different classes of the citizens and laying the foundations of his policy of toleration. Then he departed for Milan, and meeting there Licinius, to whom he gave his sister in marriage, he issued the famous Edict, in the spring of 313. It granted liberty to all to practise the religion they preferred, but it made special mention of the Christians, and pronounced their absolute freedom henceforth from the disabilities under which they had suffered for so long. It also restored to them all the property of which they had been deprived, bidding its *de facto* possessors to surrender it at once, but promising them, if they did so promptly, to make good their loss out of the imperial treasure. The Edict was also communicated to Maximin Daia, with orders to see it carried out completely in the East. The latter was too feeble to offer resistance, and issued an edict of his own, conceived in the same insincere language as that of Galerius. But Maximin Daia's own days were numbered. He was defeated by Licinius at Chrysopolis in the very year of the Edict.

Paganism did not disappear with the conversion of the Emperor; indeed, it was still the religion of the majority, and in some places, Rome above all, it was particularly strong. Nevertheless, it was in the grasp of the ebbing tide. The flowing tide was with Christianity, now that it was free to

discharge unchecked its saving mission. We can well understand the feelings of the faithful in their new-born sense of freedom and of victory. Eusebius expressed it well in his sermon at the dedication of one of the many splendid churches which began at once to spring up on all sides:

Accustomed as we are to sing hymns and canticles to the glory of God we could say in the past: "O God, we have heard with our ears and our fathers have declared unto us the noble works Thou didst in their days, and in the days before them." But now not by our hearing only, or by any words or reports that have come down to us, but with our very eyes we may see how true are those things which in old times were written down for our instruction. And we may sing another hymn, a hymn of triumph. "As we have heard so have we seen in the city of the Lord of Hosts, the city of our God."¹

¹ *Hist. Eccles.* lib. x. cap. 4.

The Encyclical on St. Gregory.

Is it that the splendid example of St. Gregory the Great has for years back been a subject of affectionate study and meditation with our new Pope, or is it that the occurrence of this thirteenth centenary, just at the beginning of his Pontificate, has directed his mind to a source whence so much valuable guidance can be derived by one called, greatly against his own will, to take upon himself the burden of a twentieth-century Pontificate? It is a question we do not need to answer, but Pius X. himself assures us, in the opening paragraph of his beautiful and practical Encyclical, that he accepts the impressive reminder at this opportune moment, as a truly providential aid to support him in his difficult task.

By that God who killeth and maketh alive, who humbleth and exalteth, it was ordained not, We think, without a special providence, that amid all the anxieties which the government of the Universal Church imposes upon Us, . . . Our gaze at the beginning of Our Pontificate should be turned at once towards that most holy and illustrious predecessor of Ours, the honour of the Church and its glory. For Our heart is filled with great confidence in his most holy intercession with God, and strengthened by the memory of the sublime maxims he inculcated in his lofty office and of the virtues practised by him. And since by the force of the former and the fruitfulness of the latter he has left on God's Church a mark so vast, so deep, so lasting, that his contemporaries and posterity have justly given him the name of Great, and to-day, after all these centuries, the eulogy of his epitaph is verified: "He lives eternal in every place by his innumerable good works," it will surely be given, with the help of divine grace, to all followers of his wonderful example, to fulfil the duties of their own offices, as far as human weakness permits.

In the words of Gibbon, in a well-known passage, "the progress of Christianity has been marked by two glorious and decisive victories: over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman Empire, and over the warlike inhabitants of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the Empire and embraced the

religion of the Romans." It was in the course of the sixth century that the task of achieving this second victory was laid upon the Church, and Gregory, more than any one else, was the leader providentially appointed to undertake it. During the fifth and sixth centuries the Imperial power had been steadily losing its hold on the Western world, and the northern races, out of whom the modern nationalities were to be formed, had been as steadily settling down in the territories they had overrun. First had come the Vandals, who, however, made no permanent settlement in Europe, but after raiding Gaul and Spain finally established themselves in Western Africa. The Visigoths had come next, and had established themselves in South-Western France and Spain, in the early years of the fifth century. The Franks, the Alemanni, and Burgundians had shortly after possessed themselves of Northern France; the Jutes, Saxons, and Anglians had overrun our own isle towards the end of the fifth century. Italy, which had for some time past suffered from the transitory irruptions of Huns, Vandals, and Visigoths, fell about the same time under the sway of the Ostrogoths, whose leaders—Odoacer, Theodoric, and their successors—from 476 onwards took the title of Kings of Italy, nominally by the wish of the Eastern Emperor, but in reality as independent sovereigns. These Ostrogoths ruled unopposed till near the middle of the sixth century, when the Emperor Justinian woke up to the state of Italy, and sent over the famous generals, Belisarius and Narses, to re-establish his authority there. Belisarius met with a vigorous resistance from the Kings Vitiges, Totila, and Teias, but by 553 the Ostrogoth rule came to an end, giving place to that of the Exarchs of Ravenna, the viceroys of the Emperor. It was not long, however, before another and more terrible race of Teutonic origin arrived to dispute with the Empire its newly-recovered sovereignty. These were the Lombards, who under their King Alboin took Milan and Pavia, and made the latter city into the seat of a new Italian sovereignty. These Lombards did not entirely deprive the Empire of the territory it had recovered; they left the Exarchs a precarious sovereignty over certain districts, including Ravenna, Rome, and Naples, but took over the regions now called Lombardy and a smaller region in the extreme south. Still they were the predominating power during a period of two centuries, and were an abiding cause of disturbance and devastation in the Peninsula.

It must be understood that these Gothic invasions were not mere invasions but also immigrations. The invaders were tribes seeking for newer and richer abodes, and they came in their multitudes to settle down in the conquered territories, and to intermingle and fuse with those relics of the former population which had remained after war, famine, pestilence, and flight had played their havoc. It was this circumstance which created for the Church an order of things so entirely new, and caused the task before her to be nothing less than that of making a second Christendom in the West to take the place of the Christendom which had perished. The survivors indeed of the older population retained their Catholic faith, although sadly impaired by the break-up of parishes and dioceses, by the destruction of churches and monasteries, and by the dearth of priests, consequent on the ravages of the contending armies, or the persecutions of the half savage chieftains. But it was the invaders themselves who were destined to form the staple of the nations then in the process of foundation, and it was their conversion for which the Church must strive, if they were to grow into the splendid Catholic nations which in fact they eventually became. At the time they were—with the exception of the Franks, whose King, Clovis, had been converted to orthodox Christianity in 476—not pagans but Arians, the Christian religion having been first imparted to them in this spurious form by Ulfilas and other Arian missionaries in the reign of the Arian Emperor Valens. Their Arianism, however, does not seem to have exercised any very deep influence on their lives, and they were still largely infected with pagan ideas and superstitions. As for character they were what was to be expected in view of their antecedents. If at times unexpectedly generous or forbearing with their conquered foes, they were passionate and impetuous, and in the violent outbursts of their wrath capable of the direst cruelties. They were wild too and undisciplined in their morals, and had small control over their sensual inclinations. And yet, on the other hand, there was, proportionately, in them all that capacity for noble aspirations which Newman noted and so finely described as in the Saxons and Anglians.

To understand St. Gregory aright we must remember that he was born into the midst of these calamitous times, and felt their pressure from his youth upwards. For he was born in Rome somewhere about 540, he passed his childhood during

the years when Totila and Belisarius were contending with each other, and each ravaging the country he passed through ; and he must even—unless he was sent elsewhere for the time—have had experience of more than one siege of the city itself. It was during his boyhood that the Franks came and went, and in his early manhood that the Lombards commenced their inroads, and the savage Alboin came near enough to fill the minds of the citizens with the dread of another siege. He came of a family, more than one member of which was noted for sanctity of life. One of them, St. Sylvia, was his mother who, we may be confident, watched over his early training with devoted care, a care rewarded from the first by the full response of a generous heart. Perhaps, therefore, the fearful conditions of the times were not required, and yet they must have powerfully contributed, to form in him a longing for the monastic life, with its more congenial atmosphere and its better opportunities of learning to place the heart's aspirations there where no earthly vicissitudes can disappoint them. It was to the Order of St. Benedict that his mind naturally turned, for the great father of monks had survived till a year or two after Gregory's birth, and his memory was fresh in the minds of a generation many of the older members of which had known him personally. Of such were Constantine, Valentinian, Simplician, and Honoratus, men highly placed in this Order, and esteemed among their brethren, whose counsels and instructions St. Gregory was fond of seeking in his youth, and from whom he gathered the many facts about the patriarch's life which he has set down in the second volume of his *Dialogues*. Accordingly, after he had first filled for a year or two with general approval the office of Prætor Urbis, he felt that the time had come for carrying out his cherished purpose. His father's recent death had left him the free disposal of ample means, and with these he founded six monasteries in Sicily and one in Rome, distributing the residue among the poor. The house he founded in Rome had been his father's palace, and now became the famous monastery of St. Andrew on the Cœlian Hill, so dear to English Catholics as being the house from which St. Augustine and his companions went forth on their mission to King Ethelbert. It was into this monastery that St. Benedict received the novice destined to become the most famous of all his sons.

How thoroughly he grew to love the life he had thus

embraced, and how it came to mould his entire being, may be gathered from the pathetic terms in which he was wont to refer back to it in after-days. Thus in the Preface to his *Dialogues*, written during his Pontificate, he says regretfully :

My unhappy soul, stricken as it were with a deep wound by the affairs which now absorb it, recollects what it once was in the monastery ; how all things perishable lay beneath it, and how it rose superior to all that was transitory ; how it was wont to meditate only on the things of Heaven, and even whilst held captive by the body it would pass by its contemplation through the bars of flesh ; how death itself which to most mortals is felt as a punishment, was loved by it as the entrance into life and the reward of labour. But now on the contrary through the necessities of my pastoral solicitude it has to be troubled with the affairs of secular persons, and after having learnt to know the sweetness of a tranquil life, it is soiled with the dust of worldly occupations. When, too, for the sake of so many others, it has devoted itself to external work, even when returning it seeks again the exercises of the interior life, it finds itself unmistakably less ready for them. Thus I meditate on what I have to bear, and on what I have lost ; and whilst I consider what I have lost, what I have to bear feels the heavier.

If, however, St. Gregory's attraction was for the seclusion and religious exercises of the monastery, the Church could not spare the talent for administration of which he seems to have already given a fine specimen during his tenure of the prætorship. Whilst yet in the first year of his religious life, Pope Benedict I. insisted on making him one of the seven regionaries, or deacons entrusted with the care of the seven "regions" into which the city had been ecclesiastically divided. It was to this period of his life that the incident belongs of his noticing the fair-haired Anglian boys in the Roman slave-market, and the consequent resolve, so tenaciously held to throughout his life, to provide for the conversion of our nation. He had wished, as it is known, to go in person and at once as a missionary to England, and would have carried out his intention, had not the people of Rome found him too precious to part with. Still they had to lose him for a while shortly afterwards, for in 578 he was sent to Constantinople by Pelagius II. as his *apocrisiarius*, or, as we should say, legate. Whilst the Lombards were incessantly ravaging Italy, the Exarchs of Ravenna, unwilling to renew the warfare by which they had overthrown the Goths, had relapsed into indifference,

secure themselves behind the walls of Ravenna ; nor could the Emperor at Constantinople, misled by the interestedly optimistic reports of the Exarchs, be induced to intervene again for the restoration of peace. Hence, neither were the suffering subjects of the Empire provided with the means of armed resistance, nor allowed to make a treaty with their Lombard oppressors. It was as an extreme measure to arouse the Emperor Maurice from his apathy that Gregory was sent to his Court. He went, but it must have been a sore trial to him to have to exchange his quiet life for the life of a Court ; still he took some of his fellow-monks with him, and together they kept up the exercises of the monastery in the portion of the palace assigned for their residence. The mission was partially successful in its primary object, and it had the further good result of making Gregory acquainted with the persons and methods of those with whom in his Pontifical days he would often have to deal. Among these are to be reckoned, not only the Byzantines themselves, but such others as St. Leander, the great Spanish Bishop, who through his influence on his two royal pupils, Hermenegild and Reccared, was so instrumental in bringing about the conversion of the Spanish Visigoths from Arianism to Catholicism.

His stay in Constantinople lasted six years, that is, till 584, and on his return to Rome he was elected Abbot by his brethren at St. Andrea, and was also employed by Pelagius II. as his Secretary. It was thus he came to be the author of some letters written in Pelagius's name to the schismatic Bishops of Istria, which are valuable for their exposition of the real concord between the Fourth and Fifth General Councils in the matter of the Three Chapters.

But the time was now come for Gregory to take upon his own shoulders the burden of the Pontificate. In 589 excessive rains caused the Tiber to overflow its banks and inundate a wide area. This flood was serious enough in itself, and destroyed many ancient buildings, but still more serious was the pestilence afterwards engendered by the stagnant waters. People were attacked by it suddenly and perished in great numbers, whole families being carried off at once. Among its victims Pelagius II. was one of the earliest, and the eyes of all turned to Gregory, the more so as he was very conspicuous at the time for his devotedness in ministering to the poor sufferers. It is not surprising that at such a time he should have been aghast at the prospect of having to steer the ship of

the Church through waters so stormy and dangerous—that “old ship,” as he described it, “so woefully shattered, with the waters entering in on every side, and the joists grown rotten and foreboding shipwreck.” But his chief anxiety was due to the deep sense of the personal deficiency which his humility made him feel. And so when the Emperor, refusing to listen to his remonstrances, sent his cordial approbation of the choice of the Roman clergy and people, he even went to the extreme of flying from Rome and taking refuge in some neighbouring woods. He was discovered however and brought back to the city, when at last he recognized that it was the call of God, and allowed himself to be consecrated. It may seem a strange thing that he should have had recourse on this occasion to so desperate an expedient as flight, and his friend John, the Archbishop of Ravenna, wrote to remonstrate with him on his faintheartedness. This fact needs to be mentioned, for it led to Gregory’s writing his *Liber Regulæ Pastoralis*, which is in form a defence of his reluctance to accept the Papacy, and is in substance a magnificent treatise on the spirit and duties of a true Pastor, a treatise which was highly esteemed and extensively used throughout the Middle Ages, and of which it has been said with much justice, that “it made the Bishops who made the modern nations.”

This short outline may suffice to give an idea of the appalling situation which confronted the new Pope in 590, and of the antecedents through which he had been prepared for his task. To show us how he accomplished it, we have in his fourteen books of Letters a wealth of materials such as is not obtainable for the life of any other Pope either before him or for a considerable time after him. They are more than eight hundred in number, are addressed to persons of every condition and in all countries, and not only supply a first-hand evidence of his wishes and transactions, but give a vivid delineation of his character, of his intense spirituality and rectitude, of the breadth and depth of his pastoral solicitude, of his insight, prudence, and tact, of his firmness and determination, of his tenderness and compassion, of his generous charity and striking personal humility.

As regards this last-mentioned virtue, it is curious that his disavowal even for himself of the title of Universal Bishop should have caused him to be represented as repudiating the

notion of a universal jurisdiction in his See. It was the high-sounding title alone which he disliked, for his Letters not only contain direct assertions that all Bishops without distinction are subject to his See, but exhibit him throughout as in the full exercise of unlimited authority over Bishops, in the East no less than in the West. Indeed, it is just this "solicitude of all the Churches" which is so remarkable in him, and which set the type to his successors with a fulness in which it had never been set before.

In the first place, we find him solicitous about the temporal evils of the people of Rome, indeed of the whole of Italy. As we have seen, they were the victims of the pestilence and of the swords of the Lombards; and, above all, they were without defenders or even rulers. Gregory set to work to supply these needs. For such a purpose he did not hesitate to draw largely upon the goods of the Patrimony of St. Peter, until he seemed to be providing food and the means of living for the whole people in their distressed state. Further, he set to work to organize their defence, and collected troops of his own to oppose the Lombards. He even tried, and with much success, to conciliate their leaders, Ariolph and Arogi, and when through the perversity of the Exarch their wrath, and that of their King, Agilulph, was rekindled afresh, and the latter came in person to lay siege to Rome, Gregory, like his great predecessor, St. Leo, went forth to meet him, and on the steps of St. Peter's, then outside the city, so impressed the rough monarch and his generals, that they forebore their meditated vengeance, and after entering into a truce with the Pontiff returned to their homes with a respect for him never afterwards lost. The truce, after various vicissitudes for which again the perversity of the Exarch and of the Emperor was responsible, eventually ripened into a peace, and even led to the conversion of the Lombard race. For Agilulph was married to the Catholic Queen, Theodolinda, whose influence on behalf of orthodoxy had already been exercised over her husband, and who, now that he had conceived such a respect for Gregory, was enabled in collaboration with the Pontiff to obtain his leave for the free evangelization of those parts, and even for the baptism of his son, Adoaldus. Thus, though Agilulph himself never became a Catholic, the nation was gradually won over, and by the end of Gregory's Pontificate could be reckoned as a Catholic nation. It was, too, through Gregory's labours for the pacification of Italy, labours undertaken in no spirit of revolt

against the Emperor's authority, but simply because there was no one else to undertake the office, that he became practically the civil as well as the spiritual ruler of the central portion of the Peninsula, and laid the foundation of the Temporal Power.

Next his letters reveal him as labouring with wonderful diligence for the spiritual restoration of Italy. They show him rebuilding churches that were in ruins, re-endowing churches that had been plundered, recalling clergy to churches that had been abandoned, appointing bishops to churches long left vacant or, when this was impossible, committing their flocks to the care of some neighbouring bishop or Papal *Defensor*. Nor was he content with merely filling up vacancies, so that the faithful might nowhere be without clergy to minister to them; "like an Argus full of light," says Pius X., citing the words of John the Deacon, one of the Saint's early biographers, "he moved all round the eyes of his pastoral solicitude" to discover and correct the failings and negligences of the clergy, and thereby to watch over the people. Letter after letter of those preserved to us bears witness to the burning zeal he sought to inspire into their hearts, the sorrow he felt at any breach of the sacred canons, or declension from the high standard of priestly life; and with what strenuousness, mingled with tenderness, he strove to reform the offenders. And as with the Bishops and clergy, so with the monks and their Abbots. He had been a monk himself, and could appreciate the value of the religious life, and he looked to it to play an important part in the general work of spiritual reform and progress. Hence we have a similar series of letters in which we see him providing now for the well-being of the monastic buildings, now for the maintenance of discipline within their walls, now laying down the general principles which still endure as the basis of all subsequent legislation, now applying the principles to individual cases—all with the wisdom and insight of one who understood, and with a fervour which did not fail to prove contagious.

His conception of his relation to the more distant Churches is expressed in his words to the Bishop of Bysacium: "I know not what Bishop is not subject to (the Apostolic See), if any fault is found in Bishops. But when no fault requires it all are equal, according to the estimation of humility." In other words, "as long as a Bishop, wherever he may be, governs aright, it is not mine to meddle with him, but if he is guilty of fault it is my duty to intervene." And it is thus his letters exhibit

him acting in regard to the more distant Churches, especially those in the East ; for in the West, which belonged to his own patriarchate, his intervention was less restricted.

As regards results, however, one cannot but contrast the difference of spirit in which his intervention was received in the East and in the West. Though, as St. Gregory himself states, his authority over the Eastern Churches was, so far as words went, distinctly recognized even by the Bishops of Constantinople themselves, yet the disease of Erastianism was there prevalent, and in practice these prelates of the royal city were persistently endeavouring to secure their own autonomy, and usurping supremacy over all Eastern Churches. Could they but have foreseen the *nemesis* which was already impending over them. Even whilst they were engaged in their controversy with Gregory over their foolish claims to be called Universal Bishops, that false Prophet was growing up to manhood who in the person of his successors, was so soon to snatch from the Eastern Church its fairest provinces, and eventually, by overthrowing the Empire, to deprive the ambitious see of the basis on which its pretensions rested.

But to pass to the Western nations which, strong in their union with the See of Peter, were destined to become the one salvation of Christendom against the advancing tide of Islamism.

Of England it is not necessary to speak, for we all know well the history of what Gregory did for us. In the kingdoms under Frankish rule, although they had been Catholic since the time of Clovis, it could not be said that the Churches were in a satisfactory state. Two particular defects are noted by St. Gregory in his letters to the Frankish sovereigns and Bishops. When bishoprics were vacant, not unfrequently laymen, anxious to succeed, were forthwith tonsured and elevated to the requisite Orders, although they had received no previous preparation for the sacred ministry. Moreover, appointments to benefices were habitually vitiated by simoniacal transactions. It was what was to be expected in countries still only half civilized, but it is easy to estimate the disasters to religion which flowed from such causes. Gregory strove to remove these evils by strengthening the bonds between the Frankish Churches and his own See, and by appointing for this purpose certain prelates to be his Vicars with authority over all the rest, as well as by entrusting certain visitatorial rights to

his *defensors* who superintended the public possessions of his Patrimony ; and then by a persistent correspondence with these his agents, and with the Frankish sovereigns—of the same kind as we have noted in his dealings with the Churches of Italy.

In Spain the conversion of the Visigoths had commenced just before Gregory's accession to the Pontificate. King Leogeivild, the Arian persecutor of his eldest son Hermenegild and of those of his subjects who had followed this prince in embracing Catholicism, had died in 589, repentant at the last for what he had done, and exhorting St. Leander, who had converted the martyred Hermenegild, to convert also his younger son Reccared, now about to succeed him. Reccared proved a willing pupil to the instructions of St. Leander, and on his conversion the general conversion of his people quickly followed ; and in a full Council held at Toledo Reccared was joined by many of his Bishops and nobles in a solemn profession of the Catholic faith, in their own name and that of the nation. The news of this happy event was at once announced to Gregory in a letter from his old friend Leander, and gave him much consolation. But though the work of national conversion was thus felicitously begun, much remained to be done in order to extend and consolidate it, and in this further work Gregory, in co-operation with St. Leander, King Reccared, and his own legates whom he sent into the country, was as active and prudent as in the other countries of the newly forming Christendom.

We must pass over his work in converting the pagans who till his days still remained in Sicily ; in putting an end to the Donatist schism in Africa, and reducing that of the adherents of the Three Chapters in Northern Italy and Istria ; we must pass over also, though very pertinent at this moment, his labours in revising the Church's Liturgy and Office, and in establishing and improving the sacred chant, which came afterwards to be called by his name. But enough has been said to enable the reader to understand in what sense our present Pontiff sums up, as he has done in his Encyclical, the results of that short but energetic Pontificate.

Truly wonderful was the work he was able to effect during his reign of little more than thirteen years. He was the restorer of Christian life in its entirety, stimulating the devotion of the faithful, the observance of the monks, the discipline of the clergy, the pastoral solicitude of the Bishops. . . . With princes and people docile to his

words the world regained true salvation, and put itself on the path of a civilization which was noble and plentiful in blessings in proportion as it was founded on the incontrovertible dictates of reason and moral discipline, and derived its force from truths divinely revealed, and from the maxims of the Gospel.

And again—

So salutary and so efficacious was his action that the memory of the works wrought by him became deeply impressed on the minds of the subsequent generations, especially during the Middle Age, which breathed, so to speak, the atmosphere created by him, fed on his words, conformed its life and manners according to the example inculcated by him, with the result that Christian social civilization was happily introduced into the world in opposition to the Roman civilization of the preceding centuries, which now passed away for ever.

And once more—

Gregory succeeded in his own times in strenuously stimulating this spirit of energetic action, and such was the impulse given by him that the same spirit was kept alive during the succeeding ages: (so that) the whole mediæval period bears what may be called the Gregorian stamp; almost everything it had came to it from the Pontiff—the rules of ecclesiastical government, the manifold phases of charity and philanthropy in its social institutions, the principles of the most perfect Christian asceticism and of the monastic life, the arrangement of the liturgy and the art of sacred music.

Pius X.'s Encyclical, as was remarked at the commencement of this article and as is apparent from its text, is intended not merely to commemorate the life's work of his great predecessor, but to point out to us the lessons which from the study of that life's work he has gathered for his own use, and desires to put in practice during his Pontificate. He notes a parallelism between the state of the world when St. Gregory began to reign and that to which it has returned now; between the results which St. Gregory was able to accomplish and those for which he desires himself to work: between the helplessness in regard to all human conditions of success in which St. Gregory then was, and the similar helplessness in which he now finds himself in the face of the modern world; and yet, on the other hand, between the Divine aids which can be counted on not less now than then.

When we look around from the walls of the Vatican, We find that, like Gregory, and perhaps with even more reason than he, We have grounds for fear, with so many storms gathering on every side,

with so many hostile forces massed and advancing against Us, and at the same time so utterly deprived as We are of all human aid to ward off the former and to help us to meet the shock of the latter. But when We consider the place on which Our feet rest and on which this Pontifical See is founded, We feel Ourselves perfectly safe on the rock of Holy Church. "For who does not know," wrote St. Gregory, to the Patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria, "that Holy Church stands on the solidity of the Prince of the Apostles, who got his name from his firmness, for he was called Peter, from the word rock." Supernatural force has never during the flight of ages been found wanting in the Church, nor have Christ's promises failed; these remain to-day just as they were when they brought consolation to Gregory's heart—nay, they are endowed with even greater force for Us, having stood the test of centuries and so many changes of circumstances and events.

The root-error of the present age is of course quite unlike that of the age of St. Gregory, and Pius X. finds it in the general disposition to deny the supernatural: "The entire supernatural order is denied, and as a consequence, the divine intervention in the order of creation and in the government of the world and in the possibility of miracles: and when all these are taken away the foundations of the Christian religion are necessarily shaken." For this denial of the supernatural being assumed as a first principle enters as a presupposition into philosophy and criticism and vitiates their processes; and so it comes to pass that the force of Christian evidence is undermined, and even the reality of the future life is called^a in question. As a consequence, the moral life of individuals and of civil society is deplorably injured; for if you take away the principle that there is something divine outside this visible world, you take away all check upon unbridled passions, since civil authority when unaided by religion is powerless to restrain them, and then the plague of depravity soon begins to triumph on all sides, and people grow discontented with everything, proclaim the right to act as they please, and stir up rebellions, provoke revolutions, and overthrow all rights human and divine.

To oppose these evils Pius X. does not rely too much upon pitting arguments against arguments. That must be done, of course, but the principal aim which he sets before himself, and recommends to the Bishops (to whom, formally, his letter is addressed), is "to revive with all the energy of (their) souls, and all the means at (their) disposal this supernatural life in every branch of society—in the poor working-man who earns his

morsel of bread with the sweat of his brow from morning to night, and in the great men of the earth who preside over the destiny of nations." In other words, he would meet the denial of the supernatural by the exhibition of the supernatural. He would have the Bishops and clergy strain every nerve to implant in the hearts of their people, and bring to maturity as widely and as fully as possible, that wonderful life which, whilst it is what is most profitable to the Catholic people themselves, is also what is best calculated to draw others into their ranks, seeing that it never fails to excite admiration when it is witnessed, and to proclaim its divine origin by the height to which it elevates our poor weak human nature.

The remainder of the Encyclical is an exhortation to the Bishops, setting before them what they must aim at in their own lives and preaching, and what formation they must strive to give to their young Levites. And whilst one reads this part of the letter one cannot but feel that it is itself one of those fervent utterances of which St. Gregory the Great set the type, and which, in his case, were the means on which he chiefly relied for "restoring all things in Christ."

S. F. S.



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St. Anselm of Canterbury.

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St. Anselm of Canterbury.

IN an age when men's minds are set upon keeping centenaries it is not difficult to find great characters of the past who can be becomingly honoured in this way. One such, one peculiarly such, is St. Anselm of Canterbury, the eighth centenary of whose death occurred on the 21st of last month, and was appropriately honoured not only by a commemoration service in Westminster Cathedral, but also in many Anglican churches. That Anglicans should wish thus to honour a great prelate of the medieval church, and in so doing to claim him as their own, seems to have irritated some of our Catholic journalists. But surely it should please us that this section of our fellow-countrymen should wish to commemorate a Catholic saint like Anselm rather than repulsive characters like Luther or John Knox. Their preference for the former marks the extent to which they have come to share our ideals of Catholic truth, and, although it may be necessary for us at times to contend with them about the points on which we differ, that is no reason why we should not be glad that occasions arise when we can rejoice over our points of agreement.

St. Anselm has been called the greatest of all the Archbishops of Canterbury, and the estimate seems just, though to say so is to say a great deal when we reflect how splendid was the long list of those who occupied the primatial See from the days of Augustine to the days of Pole. And yet he was not of English, or even of Norman origin, but was a native of the Piedmontese town of Aosta. Perhaps that is a matter not unworthy of our attention, as we look back to gather the lessons of his career. The sense of nationality is so strong with us now-a-days that we forget how often what we practically mean by it is insularity; and forget, too, that there is an ideal which from a religious point of view is grander than nationality, the ideal which fired the enthusiasm of St. Paul when he thought how in the nascent Church the racial distinctions of Jew and

Gentile had ceased to have place, the ideal which we now express by the glorious name of Catholic. True, there is an aspect under which for ordinary purposes it is desirable that spiritual rulers should be of the same race with their flocks, but it is not to be pressed unduly. Have we not an evidence of this in the many ecclesiastics of foreign origin who have wrought so well, and endeared themselves so much to their flocks in our modern English Church? And is not the same lesson taught us by great prelates like Theodore of Tarsus, Lanfranc of Pavia, Anselm of Aosta, Boniface of Savoy, Hugh of Avalon, and others who in their time were adored by the nation and shed lustre on the English Church?

At Aosta then Anselm was born, and it was at Aosta that his youth was spent. His parents were both of noble birth and well endowed with this world's goods. But his father, though towards the close of his days he entered a monastery and led a life of penitence, had been till then a thoroughly worldly man, and it was to his good mother and the monks of the neighbouring monastery where he got his schooling that the boy's natural disposition towards piety was fostered and developed. At the age of fifteen he conceived the idea of becoming a monk himself, and was only deterred because the Abbot, in fear of the father's wrath, refused to receive him. Owing to this refusal, and to his mother's death not long after, he lapsed into a phase of comparative worldliness. "The ship of my soul," he says in the reminiscences of his later life, "lost its anchor and wandered altogether into the ways of the world." It was a phase the recollection of which always stirred him to feelings of the deepest penitence, but saints in their self-accusations are given to exaggerate, and at all events the phase did not last long. When he was about twenty-three, his father having conceived a dislike for him, he determined to lead a studious life and with this intention spent three years in different houses of study in Burgundy and France. It was thus that, influenced probably by the fame of Lanfranc, now the first teacher of the age, he found his way to the Norman Abbey of Bec, where Lanfranc was giving his lectures and attracting disciples from all parts to hear him. The teacher took at once to his new pupil and quickly discerned the high promise, spiritual and intellectual, that was in him. They were kindred spirits, and became to each other as father and son, united together in a close friendship destined to be lifelong.

For a while Anselm's position in the monastery was that of an extern student, but by the time he was twenty-seven he felt that he must decide definitely on the question of vocation. His father was now dead, and the family fortune had passed into his hands. Should he return to Aosta and live a good and beneficent Christian life among his own people, or should he become a monk? He felt that it was to the monastic life that God called him. But where, at Cluny or at Bec? The life at Cluny he feared might be too severe for his weak health. At Bec would not the fruit of all his hard studies be wasted, overshadowed as he would be and rendered superfluous by the transcendent learning of Lanfranc? We need not blame him for thus regarding the reasons for and against. It was not unsuitable that he should wish to go where what appeared to him to be his very modest talent might be of some solid use. Still, the effect of this presentation of his case was to cast him into a deep sense of self-abasement. How could he have forgotten that "a man does not become a monk to be set over others and be magnified before them, but to be placed below all for God's sake, and to be esteemed the least and most object of all"? Thus enlightened, and having taken counsel with Lanfranc and, at his suggestion, of the Archbishop of Rouen, he offered himself to the abbey he had learnt to love, and was accepted—saying to himself, as is recorded, "Here let my rest be, with God alone for the object of my endeavours, His love for my contemplation, the blessed and diligent remembrance of Him for my sweet and all-satisfying consolation." And here his rest was for the thirty-three years that followed, the first three of which he spent as a simple monk, the next fifteen as Prior in succession to Lanfranc, then made Abbot of Caen, and the last fifteen as Abbot in succession to Herluin, the founder of the monastery, who expired at an advanced age in 1078. These were the formative years of his life, during which he developed into a perfect Religious, an experienced guide of souls, an able administrator, and a profound theologian; acquired, in short, those choice endowments of soul and mind which enabled him to exercise such an influence for good not only on his own age but on the ages to follow. It is our happy fortune to have in the case of Anselm what in so many other cases we lack, a wealth of detailed records on which we can fully rely. His friend Eadmer, who became his chaplain when he took up the Archbishopric, and remained his inseparable

companion in England and through all the time of his wanderings on the continent, and who did not fail to use his excellent opportunities of gathering information from the eye-witnesses of his whole previous life, has written both a *Life of Anselm* and a *Historia Novorum*, of which the former gives the particulars of his private life and reveals to us his inner spirit, whilst the latter records more at length the incidents of his public action. Then there are the many letters of the Saint dating from the time of his Priorate of Bec and continuing till his last days, letters written most of them to fellow-monks, but many, especially in his later days, to others who sought his advice on spiritual matters or public affairs. Also there are his spiritual writings, his Homilies and Exhortations, his Book of Prayers and Meditations, and his Hymns and Rhythms; not to speak of his doctrinal writings to which in view of their theological importance we must refer presently. It is from the outpourings of a man's own soul that we can best attain to an exact estimate of his personality, and Anselm's writings are singularly helpful in this respect. To those who will study them diligently they will bring him home almost as if he were a familiar companion. But we must be content here to borrow from his friend Eadmer a brief outline of some leading features in his manner of life.

It is a pleasing picture which Eadmer draws of his friend and father in those quiet monastic days at Bec. Anselm began his religious life by taking the most fervent and exact of his fellow-monks to be his patterns, but soon, in the general judgment, he surpassed them all, and became himself such an entrancing pattern of monastic virtue, that no monk in the whole community could wish for one more worthy of imitation. His humility was as profound as it was simple and unaffected, and it was his solicitude to be most observant of every rule and counsel of his Superiors. He grasped thoroughly the necessity of mortification for one who desired to obtain the grace of self-mastery, and to keep the wings of the soul free for ascent into the higher regions of Divine communion. Hence, he was most severe with himself in his penitential practices, and, as regards food for which he appeared to have lost all relish, was induced only by his strong common-sense to take what was absolutely requisite to sustain life. In prayer, contemplation, and the study of Holy Scripture was his chief delight, and his devotion

was so ready and constant, that according to his biographer, he could not think of the blessedness of the life to come without shedding floods of tears. This is a fact to be borne in mind if we would breathe back into the now dead words of his writings the living spirit which animated them in their first utterance. Read, for instance, such characteristic words as these which occur in his Fifteenth Meditation, on the past benefits of Christ.

Leave not the company of Mary Magdalene, but be mindful to go with her to the tomb of the Lord with her preparation of spices. As she with her eyes, so do you in spirit . . . merit to see Christ Himself gladdening her sorrows and tears with His tender look, and with His sweet voice saying to her "Mary." At the sound of this voice the cataracts burst forth from her head, tears flow forth from her inmost being, sighs and sobs are drawn forth from the very depths of her soul. "Mary!" O Blessed one, what must have been your thoughts, what your feelings, when at the sound of this voice thou didst cast thyself at His feet, and didst return His salutation, crying out "Rabboni." O with what affection, with what desire, with what burning ardour of mind didst thou cry out "Rabboni"!

Now I can say no more. My tears forbid it, the heart's affection obstructs the voice, an excess of love absorbs every sense of soul and body! But why, O sweet Jesus, why dost Thou repel from Thy sacred and most precious Feet one who loves Thee so greatly? Thou dost say: "Touch Me not." But why, O Lord? Why may I not touch, why may I not touch and kiss those Feet so precious which for me were pierced and bathed in blood? Hast Thou become hostile to me in proportion as Thou hast become glorious? Nay, I will not release Thee, I will not depart from Thee, I will not spare my tears, my heart shall break with sobs and sighs, unless I touch Thee.

If this was the habitual tone of Anselm's intercourse with God, we cannot be surprised to read how he was wont to prolong his vigils far into the night hours, and indeed it was only then that he could find time to satisfy his heart's cravings, for from the time when he was made Prior he had on his hands the souls of others besides his own to tend. The community though so young was a large one, and numbered some hundred and fifty. Their Rule bade the brethren have recourse to their Superior for spiritual direction and it was a rule which their confidence in his wisdom made them the more desirous to keep, for they believed that "the very spirit of counsel reigned in his heart" and attributed it to his familiarity with divine things, and his deep ponderings on the sacred text. He seemed

to know by instinct what was in the hearts of each, and the laws according to which the seeds of virtues and vices take root, spring up, and intertwine in the hearts of young and old. So they flocked to his cell and kept him occupied with their necessities all through the day and often into the night as well. And not his fellow-monks only, but in increasing numbers, as his fame spread, persons from outside of all classes and from all parts.

This influence for good which he possessed is further traceable to two qualities which were particularly noticeable in him. First he was of a singularly lovable disposition. He was full of sympathy, and few who came near him could resist the charm of his manner. A signal instance of this was his influence over a ruler so stern and hard to move as William the Conqueror. When he came to this despot's court, says Eadmer, "the King would lay aside the stern mien which made him appear so fierce and terrible to the many, and in Anselm's presence, to the amazement of all, would become so kindly and affable as to seem quite another man." Again on another striking occasion when an exile from England he was journeying through Burgundy to Rome, no less a person than the Duke of Burgundy himself thought to fall on the archiepiscopal party and rob it of its goods. The Duke demanded loudly which was the Archbishop, but having for a moment looked at him with a grim countenance he was seized with a sudden shame, cast down his eyes, and knew not what to say. Then on his offering him the kiss of peace he exclaimed cordially, "Lord Archbishop, I am prepared to kiss you and to serve you, and rejoicingly I thank the Lord for your coming." Secondly he added to soundness of judgment an independence of mind which enabled him to surmount unreasonable prejudices. Eadmer records a dialogue with an Abbot who came to visit him which illustrates this feature in his method. The Abbot complained of his ill success in the management of the boys under his charge, notwithstanding the severe discipline to which he subjected them. Anselm instructed him, just as a modern educationalist might do, in the true science of training the young. Do not circumvent them with prohibitions, he said. Shut up a young tree within walls on all sides, and it will fail to grow, or if it grows its branches will cross and impede one another. So will it be with the child if you leave it no room for the expansion of its being. Show them paternal fondness

and support. Be mild with them, bear with them, encourage them. Do not be so anxious in the first stage to make them hardy and stable of purpose. Let that come later. It is milk which is good for infants. It is when they are older we begin to feed them on bread. But that Anselm, unlike so many modern educationalists, could be severe on fitting occasions, the beautiful story of his treatment of the young monk Osbern proves. We must not stay to dwell on this point, save just to note how, though he was fond of children and children of him, it was the youths he best loved to train. Mature age, he used to say, is too hard to take new impressions, childhood is too soft to retain them. In adolescence you find the due mean which can both receive and retain. Perhaps, though we see it in his conduct rather than hear it expounded by him in set terms, we may include also in that method of dealing with others which was the fruit of his shrewd insight and independence of judgment as well as of his sympathetic nature, another point which lifted him above the horizon of his age and accounted for his triumphs in difficult emergencies. In his age, and long after, few realized how the advocacy of a good cause can be compromised by violence of language. Anselm never made this mistake. With whomsoever he had to contend we never find him losing his balance; though he was always firm in his resolve to adhere to the right, his speech was invariably so grave and mild that it often placated but never exasperated the offender.

If we are to form a complete estimate of his personality as it was formed in the quietude of his Abbey of Bec, we must think of him not merely as a saintly Religious, but also as a theologian of singular originality and insight. We have from his pen several theological treatises—the *Monologion*, on the nature of God, the *Proslogion* on what is called the ontological argument for the existence of God, the *Liber de Fide Trinitatis et de Incarnatione Verbi*, the *De Processione Spiritus Sancti contra Graecos*, the *Dialogus de casu Diaboli*, the *Cur Deus Homo* on the motive of the Incarnation in the necessity of redemption, the *De Conceptu Virginis* on original sin, *De Concordia Gratiae et liberi Arbitrii*, and others. Of these the two first were composed whilst he was at Bec, the *De Incarnatione Verbi* whilst still at Canterbury, and in the thick of his anxious controversies with the Red King, the *Cur Deus Homo* then and during a season of enforced leisure at Schiavi, in Southern

Italy. The *De Processione Spiritus Sancti* was the matured form of an address he had been unexpectedly called upon to give at the Council of Bari in 1098; the *De Concordia* was written at Canterbury towards the close of his life, when his troubles were at last over. This means that throughout his life he was engaged in writing theological treatises, and one cannot read without feeling that in each of these treatises he was addressing himself to some question by which the acute minds of his contemporaries were exercised. He wrote to relieve their anxious inquiries, and in this sense was, as William of Malmesbury calls him, *anxie doctus*. In other words, it is erroneous to judge, as some of his more recent biographers have done, that in these speculations Anselm was in advance of his age, and could only hope to be understood by far distant generations. Their error is due to the recognition that he discusses the very questions which exercise men's minds in the present day, combined with the assumption that the minds of his contemporaries were too undeveloped to be concerned about them. But the fact is these questions are as old as the hills, and were as burning in those ancient monastic schoolrooms as in our modern universities. St. Anselm was far from being out of touch with his age, yet it is true that he was the originator of a new method. He was the first of the Scholastics, and laid the foundations of that solid edifice of doctrine which his successors raised to such splendid heights and proportions. The root idea of this method is that expressed by the maxim *fides quaerens intellectum*, faith seeking to understand, and by understanding to fuse into a complete rational system the principles which it has first embraced on the authority of revelation. Let us hear him, for it affords a good specimen of his style, expound in his own words the force and significance of this maxim.

No Christian ought to dispute whether what the Catholic Church believes with the heart and confesses with the mouth is true or not; but, whilst always holding that faith without doubting, loving it, and living according to its rule, let him seek in all the humility of which he is capable the reason why it is so. If he finds he can understand, God be thanked; if he cannot, let him not bend down his horns to destroy but his head to venerate, for it is easier for human wisdom too-trustful of itself to tear out its horns by digging them into the rock, than by applying all its strength to tear up the rock itself. . . . For it is manifest that those have not firmness of faith who, because they cannot

understand what they believe, dispute against the truth of the faith confirmed as it is by the Holy Fathers of the Church. What else are they save bats and owls, who because they see the heavens only in the night-time dispute as to the brightness of the mid-day sun with the eagles who look upon the sun itself with unflinching gaze.¹

Before we follow Anselm from Bec to Canterbury, let us pause to gather a lesson which is often overlooked by students of medieval history. The Middle Ages are a puzzle to them. They see how wild passions ruled the day in the King's Court and the Baron's castle, how immorality of the gravest kind was rampant, how uncurbed brutality ground down the weak, deprived them of the means of subsistence, enslaved them to the vices of their oppressors. Nor can they distinguish between the layman and the churchman. The latter might be clad in different robes, and preside over a different class of ceremonial functions, but their manners and their morals appear much the same. Prelates obtain their sees and their abbeys through royal favouritism, or by abominable simony; and, having obtained them by this means, they acknowledge but one obedience, or rather subservience, namely, to do the pleasure of their feudal lords, whilst in other respects they lead lives as free from the restraints of ecclesiastical law and duty as any secular prince and noble by their side. And as with the prelates so with the clergy of the second order, secular and regular. It was in the nature of things that these should take their tone from their official superiors, and so they did, neglecting their pastoral duties, and spending their lives in indolence, worldliness, or even concubinage. Is it possible not to feel that in a period when this was the all-pervading note, religion in any true sense had died out, or survived only in a splendid formalism and a superstitious trust in the efficacy of external rites disconnected with interior morality? So argue a multitude of those on whose histories our modern readers are brought up, though not so much now as a generation or two ago. But it is because they lack the true historic sense, and take note only of what lies on the surface, neglecting the mighty religious forces which if not so obtrusive were steadily working throughout the length and breadth of that vast social structure.

The inner life of such an abbey as Bec, revealed to us as it is in Eadmer's writings and Anselm's correspondence, is most precious in this respect that it affords an insight into the nature

¹ *De Fide Trinitatis*, cap. 2.

of those religious forces, and enables us to measure the range and intensity of their influence. Anselm himself is a supreme instance of the sort of men these monasteries of strict observance could turn out. His much-loved father and predecessor, Lanfranc, is another. Bishop Gundulphus is another. As we pass Rochester in the train and cast our eyes on the grim Norman keep which bears his name and frowns down on the Medway, we might be prone to think of him too as one of those wild prelates to whom the sword was more familiar than the crozier. But Anselm's correspondence will reveal to us how like himself was this *anima dilectissima animae meae*, this soul so dear to his soul, this cherished companion of his early life in the monastery whose name was next to his own on the boards, who "set his heart and its affections so ardently upon the love of our heavenly country," this tried friend "the thought of whom could never fade from Anselm's memory" because he "was graven on his heart as the seal is on the wax." And then there were Henry, the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Gislebert, Abbot of Westminster, these and others whom Anselm had known and loved at Bec, who shared his spirit and its aims, and had gone forth to communicate that spirit to other groups of men. Or, if we go outside Bec, there were Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, and Hugh, Abbot of Cluny; and there was Pope Urban II. himself (like St. Gregory VII., his great predecessor, a son of Cluny), who had such an esteem for Anselm that he counted it more becoming that he should seek advice from our saint than impart it to him. These were the kind of men who were working for God in the midst of that wicked world, and leavening it with their spirit — these and many who resembled them in character and aims, and exercised a similarly salutary influence within their more limited spheres.

Moreover, to say that their teaching and example spread as a Christian leaven through the world is to disallow what one frequently hears said, namely, that the monasteries, though now superfluous, were in those days a necessity, because then it was barely possible to lead a good Christian life outside those sanctuaries of peace. Nor can it be doubted that Catholic faith as it abounded anywhere, so it everywhere bore fruit in good Christian lives, in the world, that is to say, as well as the cloister — though caused in high degree and sustained, then as now, by the influence of the cloister. In two ways particularly this causality

acted. One is apt in the history of those times to overlook the influence of the devout wives and mothers. They too had been mostly trained in the convents, and in their turn they laid the foundations of faith and piety in the hearts of their children, co-operating in this respect with the monasteries for their sons and the convents for their daughters. It was thus with Anselm himself, who received his earliest religious training and bent from his mother and from the monks of a neighbouring abbey. Matilda, wife of the Conqueror, was likewise a good pious woman, as were her daughter Adela, Countess of Blois, and Matilda, the niece of Edgar the Atheling and Queen of Henry I., two women who always sought and valued Anselm's advice. What we desire to emphasize is that through the united efforts of these good women and the cloistered Religious so many of the men of those days began their lives well, and that, if when they grew up they too often succumbed to the temptations of that wild undisciplined age, the sentiments of their pious childhood did not altogether die out of their recollections, and so must be taken into account in estimating the influence of the faith upon their lives. Thus Rufus himself, who disputes with John the ignoble privilege of being the worst of our kings, when he was stricken down at Gloucester in 1093, had his fit of repentance which, though transitory, constrained him for the time to make reparation for his evil deeds. That he should have done so in that hour of danger becomes intelligible if we think of the lessons he had learned in childhood from his pious mother and at the feet of Lanfranc. And if the faith implanted in childhood could achieve this, even in a character so abandoned as his, we need not be surprised if in hearts of finer texture it achieved nobler and more solid triumphs, as in Herluin, the founder of Bec, or Gundulph, the father of Anselm, and as in the number of those who changed their lives in the middle of their days, or in old age, or when death was near, and showed the reality of their repentance by their rigid mortifications and lavish alms.

We may have dwelt too long on this aspect of the life of Anselm, but, in view of the clear insight into some underlying mediæval habits and tendencies which his writings reveal, it has seemed a useful thing to do, though at the cost of passing over the details of his history—for these can be read elsewhere. In pursuance, too, of this method, we shall confine ourselves in what follows to a comment on the significance of the objects

for which Anselm strove with the two English sovereigns during the time of his episcopate.

It was in 1093 that he became Archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc had died in 1089, and since then the Red King had kept this see and many others vacant. The Norman sovereigns in introducing the feudal system insisted on a theory of tenure according to which the sovereigns had not only royal authority, but an underlying freehold in all the estates within their jurisdiction. The principal subjects were only their tenants-in-chief, and this meant that, when they died, their estates reverted to the sovereign, who held them and enjoyed their revenues until it pleased him to appoint the next tenant in succession. They found it particularly convenient to apply this theory to the bishoprics and abbacies of the kingdom. By the recognized law of the Church the founders of benefices and their heirs were the *advocati*—or, as modern lawyers would say, held the advowsons—of the same. That is, they were the recognized guardians and protectors of their respective benefices, and had as a privilege the right of nominating the incumbents. It was easy for arbitrary monarchs, who could follow their own methods of reasoning, to construe this title of advowson into a title of absolute possession, and to treat the superior benefices as in all respects their own, keeping them vacant according to their pleasure that during the interim they might draw their revenues. Of the evils that followed from this custom, one was that these Kings were no kindly landlords to the ecclesiastical tenants, but sought to squeeze as much as possible out of the farms whilst they were in their hands. And a still more serious evil was that, in the defect of Bishop and Abbot during these long and repeated vacancies, discipline became relaxed, religion decayed, and sins multiplied. It is what Eadmer expressly notices in his *Historia Novorum*. It is to the credit of William the Conqueror that when he did appoint new prelates, he chose well and abstained from all simony. But it was otherwise with Rufus, whose one idea was to sell the sees to the highest bidder, and who cared nothing for the personal character of his prelates; or rather who cared only to find such as could be counted on to support him in any subsequent depredations he might wish to make. Wishing to persist in this evil course, he naturally opposed himself to every project of effectual reform, and, if we find him insisting that Bishops must not hold councils without his leave, or have

recourse to the Holy See without his leave, or even recognize a Pope as validly appointed without his leave, we must understand that his motive for setting up these "customs," as he called them, was just this, that he might not be impeded in his oppression of the Church. If councils were held, the Churchmen would have the opportunity of devising remedial measures and combining for their due application. If the Pope's intervention were allowed, it might make it necessary for the King to yield, for those were days of faith when the spiritual power of the Holy See could be exercised with terrible effect.

There are those who regard the action of Rufus in endeavouring to enforce these "royal customs," as showing that the principle of Royal Supremacy is more ancient than the Reformation. If by Royal Supremacy they mean the theoretical doctrine that the King and not the Pope is the original fountain of spiritual jurisdiction they are mistaken, for not even William I. would have dreamt of advancing such a claim as that. But, if the term be taken to mean that the King practically claimed to be the source of all jurisdiction, spiritual as much as temporal, inasmuch as he sought to fill the Church offices with his own nominees, and govern the entire sphere of their action in the interest of his own ambition, or covetousness, or lust, then it may be truly said that William II. set a precedent which Henry VIII. only carried further by constructing for it a theoretical base. But then we would invite those disposed to favour the doctrine of Royal Supremacy to consider what were its aim and object, and its logical outcome, as seen in these two typical specimens. And, if it should be objected that the contrast between the two systems fails, at least from the point of view of aims and outcomes, since unfortunately Popes as well as Kings have used their power for evil as well as good, then we would suggest a wider outlook and the drawing of a wider inference. The power of resistance to the contagion of iniquity, and the power of recovery from its attacks, has always been greater, vastly greater, in the Holy See than in the temporal thrones of Christendom, but none the less, it must be acknowledged that there have been many worldly Popes, and some downright wicked Popes. Still, to what has this worst of evils been attributable save just to this self-same cause, the intrusion of the Court into the sanctuary? Bad Popes have been the chosen of bad electors, and bad electors have either proximately or ultimately owed their

responsible position as electors to the pressure exercised by evil-minded civil rulers, solicitous only for the advancement of their temporal and perhaps sinful interests. We do not say that this has been the sole source of the evil, but we say without hesitation that it has been the main source of it, and the inference to which our sad and age-long experience points is that Papal Supremacy—which is the key-stone of all spiritual jurisdiction—stands for the healing of the nations, but Royal Supremacy—taken in the widest extension of the term—for their demoralization. The Divine Spirit indwelling in the Church never ceases to kindle in human hearts aspirations after truth and holiness, which in their united strength cause her to be the mightiest agent on earth making for righteousness. In proportion as her operation is impeded by the spirit of the world established in her sanctuaries will the results be reduced and enfeebled. But give her complete freedom, and her spiritual potency will display itself in its fulness, and one good result will soon appear, and bear within itself the promise of all the rest; the important offices will be filled by zealous prelates, under whose administration the ranks of the clergy will be renovated throughout.

And here the reader may be asked to connect what we have been noting about the evil tendency of Royal Supremacy with the comment made at the beginning of this article on the false impression as to the religious spirit of those times under which our modern historians are apt to labour. This false impression, we said then, is due to the overlooking of the less obtrusive but not less real and potent spiritual forces which were working in the hearts of such men as Anselm and his fellows, and those who came under their influence. This false impression, we may add now, is due to a confusion of mind, which credits the Church's own system with the evil fruits of a system of practical Royal Supremacy that was at its throat. We may add, too, that herein is discernible the unity of Anselm's ministry. In his later sphere of action at Canterbury, he was striking at the very roots of an evil influence, against which in its trunk and branches he had been striking his whole life through.

It is in these reflections on the nature and significance of Royal Supremacy that we must find the justification of Anselm's gentle but unflinching resistance to the King's demands throughout the time of his episcopate. He did

not thrust himself into that office. When Rufus, in a fit of repentance during his illness at Gloucester in the spring of 1093, deferred to the general desire of his subjects, and insisted on appointing him, it was necessary to use violence in order to get the crozier between his fingers. It was not till later, and on learning that those he respected most thought it his duty to submit, that he accepted the post, and only then under protest and with the warning words "you are yoking to the same plough a weak old ewe and an untamed young bull." Nor did he omit to stipulate that the King must promise to restore to Canterbury its church property, which was neither the King's to take, nor the Archbishop's to surrender; must promise to listen to his advice in regard to all spiritual affairs; and promise to recognize Urban as Pope. It cannot be said that the King's answer was satisfactory, but Anselm had at least signified the course he should take, and the King understood. Then he was consecrated and enthroned at Canterbury on December 4, 1093.

The conflict between the two ill-assorted yoke-fellows was not long in breaking out. At the Christmas gemot the King announced his intention to invade the Norman domains of his brother Robert, and required subsidies from his chief subjects. Anselm offered 500 pounds of silver, but the King demanded double as much. Anselm perceived that he was virtually being asked to pay a simoniacal fee for his promotion, he realized also that to contribute the higher sum meant to practise unjust extortion on his tenants. So he refused, and by so doing lost the King's friendship. The tension increased a few months later when Anselm pressed the King to permit the holding of a national synod for the suppression of vice, and to provide the vacant abbeys with incumbents. By the law of the Church, already an ancient law in those days, it is the duty of a new Archbishop, unless dispensed, to go in person to Rome for his pallium within a year of his entry in the see. In the spring of 1095, Anselm reminded the King of this already over-due obligation. William replied by asking to which Pope he proposed to go, to Urban or to the anti-Pope Guibert. Anselm repeated what he had made a condition of accepting his see. He acknowledged Urban. Indeed that was the obviously right thing to do. Urban had been duly elected in the prescribed way. No claim could be more vain than Guibert's. The Emperor, Henry IV., had trumped up some baseless and absolutely ridicu-

lous charges of guilt against St. Gregory VII., and on the score of these had pretended to depose him. Then of the two Cardinals subservient to Henry one elected the other to be Pope, the Emperor approving of the selection, in virtue of a power he claimed to have received from the Holy See. And now William Rufus, resting on a claim the Norman Kings had set up that the English Crown was also a Crown imperial (not royal only), declared that he had the same right as the German Emperor to accept or reject a new Pope. In the present instance, however, the difficulty thus created did not last long. William took it into his head that he might use Urban as an instrument for circumventing Anselm; so he recognized him, and induced him to send the pallium over to England by a special legate. Thus the Archbishop received his pallium in June of the same year, and so far he and the King were reconciled.

But Anselm was not the man to shirk responsibility by leaving the scandals of the kingdom unremedied. In 1097 he again pressed the King to permit of the necessary measures for reform, and, this being again denied him, he asked respectfully for leave to go to Rome, to ask counsel of the representative of St. Peter. He was told he might go, but if he did his possessions would be confiscated and he would never be permitted to return. Also some of his fellow-bishops were sent to reason with him, but in vain. He returned with them to the King's presence, and addressed him calmly and resolutely before them all, in words that testify unmistakably to the judgment Anselm would pronounce on the question of continuity: "You command me to swear that never again whilst in England will I appeal to Blessed Peter or his Vicar, but I say that this is not a command that a Christian like you should impose. To swear this would be to forswear Blessed Peter; and he who forswears Blessed Peter, beyond doubt forswears Christ who set him over the Church as its Prince." The words were final, but there followed a touching illustration of Anselm's sweetness of manner, and of the fascination it could exercise even on a brute like Rufus. Before leaving he approached the King and said, "Lord King, I am going . . . but in the mercy of God this which has happened shall not take away my love for your soul and its salvation. And now, not knowing when I shall see you again, I commend you to God, and as a spiritual father to his beloved son, as an Archbishop of Canterbury to a King of England, I desire to impart to you, if you will not reject it, God's blessing

and mine, before I leave you." The King replied, "I will not refuse your blessing," and then Anselm rose, and, to the astonishment of all, made the sign of the Cross over the bowed head of his sovereign, and took his departure. They never met again. Anselm left England and eventually reached Rome, welcomed with an outburst of admiration and respect in which all Christendom joined. The Red King held out stolidly for three long years, until one summer morning in 1100, when the winged arrow of Divine vengeance found him in the glades of the forest, and summoned him to the court whose verdict no man can dispute. Anselm was in Auvergne at the time, and it was characteristic of the man that when the news reached him he broke forth into bitter tears, and exclaimed amidst his sobbings that he would far rather have died himself in body than that the King should have so died in soul.

Henry I., on his accession, at once sent to beg Anselm to return, promising removal of the grievances of which he had complained. Henry's motives were perhaps not altogether pure, for, as his brother Robert still lived, his title was far from secure, and he would have been rash to dispense with the Archbishop's powerful support. Still, Henry was a better man than William, and his administration was more Christian. One great controversy with Anselm he had which necessitated another three years' exile for the latter. But it was over a different matter, and, though the King showed the tenacity of his race, he distinguished between principle and person, and was throughout on friendly terms with the Archbishop; and eventually the dispute ended in a reasonable compromise. In investing the lay-tenants with their fiefs the custom was for the King to deliver a banner as the symbol of transference, and the derived custom was to present a Bishop with the ring and a crozier. It was not intended thereby to imply any claim to confer spiritual jurisdiction, but only to confer the temporalities of the see. Still, the ring and crozier were the symbols of spiritual jurisdiction, and grave danger of confusion between the two jurisdictions, and consequent intrusion of the civil ruler into the domain of the spiritual, was to be feared if the ceremony were not discontinued. Accordingly Urban II., in a Council held at Rome in 1099, at which Anselm was present, had forbidden its employment. Henry I.'s difficulty was that he could not understand why what was allowed in the times of his father and brother should now be forbidden, and he

construed the prohibition into a claim to deprive him of his dominion over the temporalities. Eventually, after much parleying, Paschal II. allowed English prelates to do homage for their temporalities by kneeling before the King, and placing their hands in his while they recited the form of words; and Henry I. submitted to disuse the giving of the crozier. It was a happy settlement, and again Anselm's tact and charm of manner contributed largely to bring it about.

And now his life's chief work was done. By his saintly persistency he had gained his point, and secured for the English Church not indeed complete and secure liberty—for in the generations to come many another hard fight between Bishop and sovereign must be fought in the same cause—but a degree of liberty which sufficed for the present and saved the future from graver evils. Still there was one further work for him to do, and during the short remainder of his life, notwithstanding the exhaustion of his strength, he busied himself with his pastoral charge, and did much to cleanse the sanctuaries of the land from the foul scandals which in the days of misgovernment had polluted them. It was two years later when the summons came to him. On Palm Sunday, 1109, his brethren gathered round his bed watching him when one of them said, "Father and Lord, you will keep the Easter Court with your Lord above." And he replied, quite in his own way, and in words that testified what were the favourite subjects of his thoughts, "If it is His will I am ready. Still I should have liked to live a little longer so that I might first solve the question about the origin of the soul which I have been trying to think out. I fear that if I die no one else will bring it to a conclusion."

4.

The Twentieth Century.

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The Twentieth Century.

IT has been disputed, we know, whether the New Century should be held to commence with January 1, 1900, or with January 1, 1901. If it be a question of chronology, the latter supposition seems the best founded. Our mode of computing the years by the cardinal numbers, though ancient, is modern by comparison with the Latin mode of computing them by the ordinals, and apparently arose out of mere slovenliness, which found it easier to say "the year eighteen hundred and ninety-nine" (for instance), than "the eighteen hundred and ninety-ninth year." Unless, therefore, we are prepared to miss out a year from the list of those that have rolled by since the birth of our Lord, we must say that the present year is the nineteen hundredth year from the commencement of the Christian era ; in other words, that the complete cycle of nineteen hundred years will not be attained until the present year has outrun its course.

Still, however true this may be as a chronological statement, the effect of the transference from an ordinal to a cardinal method of designation has been to attach the feelings and associations which gather round the advent of a new century to this year rather than to the next. It is now, therefore, rather than a year hence, however official determinations may will the contrary, that the popular voice recognizes the beginning of the Twentieth Century, and it is now that we are impelled to make the retrospect and forecast which the turn of a century suggests.

We are not proposing to make any survey of the nineteenth century from the point of view of its achievements in the various departments of secular life, to compute the progress made in the arts and crafts, which have enriched us with so many aids and conveniences, and opened out to us so many previously unknown possibilities of living, the progress made in the colonization of new lands and the consequent growth of empires, the intellectual progress made in the departments of scientific discovery,

whether of facts or laws, or of powerful methods of investigation. Nor do we wish to dwell on the sad anxieties with which our anticipations for the empire we love are just now overcast. Other pens in other journals will acquit themselves of this task, and to them we must leave it. But it becomes a Catholic magazine to make a brief survey of the past century and estimate of the coming century from a religious point of view ; in other words, from the point of view of the Catholic Church and its fortunes in the world.

According as our temperament is optimistic or pessimistic, we may be disposed to find our present outlook bright or dark ; but one thing is at least certain, it is far brighter than that which met the eyes of our Catholic forefathers a hundred years ago. The Church at that time was passing through perhaps the sharpest and most anxious crisis of her entire history. The last decade of the expiring century had seen the outbreak of the French Revolution. Whilst the ancient monarchy of France had been abolished, the government of that country had passed into the hands of a set of miscreants, who, under the specious device of "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality," were proving themselves the bitterest enemies these watch-words had ever had. Religion was their special antipathy, and they were bent upon destroying it root and branch. Commencing with the confiscation of Church property, the prohibition of the monastic life, and the creation of a schismatic communion through the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, they had gone on to declare the Christian religion to be the one form of religion which could no longer be tolerated, and, turning the churches into so-called Temples of Reason, had inaugurated the reign of Atheism amidst impious and obscene rites. Meanwhile, the faithful among the clergy of France, who formed happily the great majority of that body, were either perishing in multitudes under the sword and the guillotine, or seeking refuge in foreign lands, or leading the worship of their similarly persecuted flocks in the secrecy of cellars and barns and of remote forests. Such was the condition of the Church in France ; and although about the middle of the decade there was just a glimmer of light, the *coup d'état* of January, 1797, quickly extinguished it, introducing a revised system of proscription, the brutality of which, if somewhat disguised, was not less real than what had gone before.

It was, too, at this time that the Directory found the pretext

it had been long seeking, for a direct attack upon the Holy See. Through General Bonaparte, then commanding the army in Italy, the Directory demanded of Pius VI. that he should withdraw his two decrees of 1791, by which he had condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and its supporters, and give them his sanction instead. The Pope necessarily refusing a measure which would have been in violation of the fundamental principles of the Church's constitution, Napoleon, under the threat of marching upon Rome, extorted the cession of various Papal territories by the Treaty of Tolentino, levied immense sums on the Papal exchequer, and carried off priceless treasures from the libraries and art galleries of the Eternal City. Nor was this all. In the following year, 1798, General Berthier entered Rome at the head of the French troops, proclaimed the Roman Republic, and, amidst circumstances of brutality, carried the Holy Father away in captivity. The august sufferer was taken first to Sienna, thence to Florence, and finally to Valence, that he might be on French soil, beyond the reach of those who should seek to deliver him. The strain of this last journey in an inclement season, during which no consideration was shown to his old age, was more than his enfeebled constitution could bear, and he died shortly after his arrival, on August 29th, in the last year of the century. "Seldom," writes Mr. Jervis, in his *Gallican Church and the Revolution*, "had events reached a climax so apparently disastrous to the authority, both temporal and spiritual, of the Apostolic See, as when Pope Pius VI. breathed his last a helpless captive in the city of Valence. The cause of Antichrist seemed to have won a decisive victory. The flag of the infidel invader waved without opposition at the Vatican, at the Capitol, at the Quirinal. The College of Cardinals had dispersed in terror, their palaces were pillaged, their property was confiscated; even their lives were in peril, and it seemed scarcely possible that they would be able to meet peaceably in Conclave to elect a successor to the Papal throne. It was openly proposed, indeed, at Paris, that any such step should be prevented by force."¹ Matters improved a little shortly after, for the Austrians, having acquired some territory by military successes, had invited the Cardinals to meet at Venice. There they inaugurated the Conclave on Nov. 30th. But when the year ended the Holy See was still vacant, nor could the advent to power of Napoleon under the title of First

¹ P. 328.

Consul, on November 9th, have encouraged much hope in the minds of those who remembered that he had been prominent in oppressing the deceased Pontiff.

Whatever affects the Holy See affects Catholics in every part of the world. Moreover, the hold acquired by the Revolution on the Government of France foreboded in itself evil for other nations. But likewise from a domestic point of view the Catholic cause in England was in a sad state at the last turn of a century. There were many then living who could remember the days when priests were condemned to perpetual imprisonment merely for saying Mass, and the horrors of Lord George Gordon's insurrection in 1780, an insurrection undertaken to prevent the abrogation of the law under which such condemnations were possible, were still fresh in men's minds. A slight further but very inadequate amelioration of the law against Catholics had been effected in 1791, by the Act which exempted from the penalties of recusancy all who should take an oath of allegiance now purged, not indeed from all, but from the most offensive of the clauses which had been in the previous oath. Yet a Catholic was still under many disabilities which in our days would be felt intolerable, and could not, for instance, vote for a Member of Parliament, much less be elected himself. Moreover, the efforts to obtain this Relieving Act had revealed the existence of a distressing want of loyalty and orthodoxy in a section of the Catholic body itself. In their anxiety to obtain relief, a certain number of the leading lay Catholics had formed themselves into a committee, named the Catholic Committee, which, professing to speak in the name of the Catholic body, offered to accept conditions which, if imposed, would have done it infinite harm. In the Bill which they laid before Parliament as one which would reasonably satisfy every just demand, they proposed that every Catholic, wishing to avail himself of the benefits of the Act, should make a declaration before a magistrate in the following form: "I, A.B., do hereby declare myself to be a *Protesting Catholic Dissenter*;" and at the same time they drew up the form of an Oath of Allegiance, in which it was declared that "no foreign prince or prelate hath, or ought to have, any spiritual authority, power, or jurisdiction whatsoever, that can directly or indirectly affect or interfere with the independence, laws, or constitution of this kingdom, or with the civil or ecclesiastical government thereof as by law established." Fortunately Parliament was more prepared to do justice than

this *coterie* of Catholics to solicit it, and on Dr. Milner, by a circular distributed among the Members, calling their attention to the dissatisfaction of the mass of Catholics headed by their spiritual superiors, the obnoxious elements were cast out of the Bill in the form in which it passed. But it was not so easy to exorcise the bad spirit from the supporters of the Catholic Committee, which now transformed itself into the Cisalpine Club, "as a permanent protest" against "the encroachments of the Court of Rome on the civil authority," and it really looked for some time as if a schism in the Catholic ranks were impending.

It was under these sad conditions, with this gloomy outlook for the children of the Church, that the nineteenth century began its course. Yet if we compare with them our present conditions and our present outlook, can we help feeling that whatever be our present difficulties and anxieties, we have reason to be thankful for the heritage which that eventful century has bequeathed to us.

The assaults of the world upon the Church have indeed been more powerful, more sustained, and more general during that century than in any previous age. The notes struck at its commencement have characterized it throughout. At Rome the Holy See has seldom been left to govern the Church in peace, and now for thirty years its occupant has been detained within the walls of the Vatican as surely by the knowledge that he cannot pass them without the risk of insult as by the restraint of locks and keys. And the Revolution, enthroned in the very heart of Christendom, has laid hands on the main-springs of Catholic life, on the Sacred Congregations, and on the Religious Orders, confiscating their colleges and their revenues, impeding their action, at times driving them into exile; and has largely succeeded in transforming the city, which should be a bright example of Christian faith, into a focus of anti-Christian malice.

In other regions the reins of government have often been in the hands of the Church's bitter persecutors, and even those rulers who have been to some extent favourable to her work, and have entered into Concordats with her, have denied her various of her rights and liberties, and kept her in fetters which have seriously interfered with her spiritual mission. It is true that in some few instances the century has seen Catholic rulers trying to govern on principles of justice to all, but these have

invariably been subjected to a hot fire of misrepresentation, for another characteristic note of the century has been that during its course misrepresentation of Catholic doctrine and Catholic action has been wrought into an organized system, with its branches in all parts. Intimately connected, too, with this propaganda of anti-Catholic slander has been the formidable growth of secret societies, and the power exercised by them in the interests of irreligion, societies some of which have hardly cared to deny that assassination was the ultimate sanction of their decrees. We are not proposing to catalogue the characteristics of the nineteenth century, only to indicate some of its leading features, but among these must not be omitted the sagacious policy of the Church's enemies in endeavouring, and with such success, to capture the schoolroom, and secure the opportunity of predisposing minds against faith at the age when they are most easily misled.

And yet in spite of all this formidable and enduring campaign against her, the Church has made undoubted and striking progress during the century, such progress that the age must be deemed an age of recovery not of loss. Never has the Holy See won more admiration and respect, never perhaps has it enjoyed so wide a range of influence over the hearts of vast populations as during the last hundred years ; so that what Napoleon said to his agent at the Court of Pius VI. : "Treat with him as with the master of an army of 200,000 men"—is more true and more acknowledged now than then. Even the hostile Government which has established itself in Rome is fain to stand by and leave in peace the numbers who flock to the Vatican from all parts, not because of any want of will to disturb them, but because it fears the consequences. It realizes that it is still the Pope who makes Rome great and prosperous, and that if it were to banish him or interfere with the concourse of the world to the steps of his throne, it would be destroying itself.

If we pass from the Church's centre to consider her as a whole, we are confronted by the spectacle of a striking advance in almost every department during the century. New and imposing hierarchies attest to the spread of the faith and the consolidation of its institutions, in countries like America which in 1800 were still in the infancy of their colonization, and in countries like England where the Catholics had to be grateful for the bare permission to live. Numerous and flourishing

missions in every quarter of the globe contrast happily with the practical extinction of missions to the heathen, which in its first stage had been the result of the suppression of the Jesuits, and later of the disorganization of all Catholic institutions consequent on the Revolution. The enterprising congregations of nuns, through whose agency almost every work of Christian charity, in our complicated modern society, is devotedly and intelligently provided for, are mainly the growth of the nineteenth century; some of the most conspicuous having sprung up amid the terrible anxieties of the French Revolution itself. In the intellectual order, too, the note of progress is observable. What an accession to Catholic literature in its various branches has been made, and in how much more satisfactory a state is Catholic study, particularly theological study, than it was at the commencement of the century! It will go down, too, to all time as the century of the definition of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility, not to speak of other important definitions made in the Vatican Council—definitions which have terminated for the children of the Church harassing controversies adverse to their unity of action, and have terminated them not merely by authoritative declarations, but also by indicating the strength of the grounds on which the true defence of the dogmas can rest. To all which triumphs of the Church's action during the century must be added the general fact of the spirit of fervour in the practice and the open profession of their faith, and of readiness to render personal service, which, while painfully conscious of the widespread existence of an opposite spirit, we may honestly claim as having been sufficiently conspicuous to count as a characteristic of the nineteenth century Catholics.

In England the Church's difficulties have been less than on the Continent. Indeed this country, which in former times stood out as the part of Europe in which the lot of those who would remain loyal to the old faith was the lot of the oppressed and persecuted, has during the last hundred years been the happy region in Europe where the Church's liberty has been most respected. One oppressive law after another has been repealed, until now there are only a few things left on the Statute-book of which we can complain, and those few not matters which have much practical effect on our lives. And under this reign of broadening freedom, how striking has been the progress of the Catholic cause! We need not dwell on the

particulars, for we are all familiar with them, with the increase of our churches and institutions, and of our numbers, with the steady influx of earnest searchers after truth, and with the gradual and still-continuing decay of bigotry which has regularly attended the progressive disillusionment of our countrymen as regards the various absurd misrepresentations of our beliefs and usages which were formerly general.

It has been far from our wish to disregard the many off-sets against these favourable features in the retrospect of Catholic life during the past century. The off-sets have, unfortunately, been too numerous, too serious, and too obtrusive to be ignored. But have not the favourable features much outweighed what has to be set in the opposite scale, and is there not in this fact much ground for encouragement for us who are passing across the threshold of a new age? Is it not a pledge to us from actual experience that our Lord is as good as His word; that He does not dwell at the hinges of the heavens, caring nought about us and our affairs, but is with us still as ever, guiding the course of events for the preservation of the indefectible Church to which He said: "Lo, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world"? And if we can gather this encouragement from our retrospect, are we not impelled the more to respond to the invitation which has just been addressed to us by our Bishops. We are asked to commence a new century by a solemn act of homage to our Lord Jesus Christ, and an acknowledgment of His Sovereignty over the world. It is like the demand which Josue made upon the children of Israel, which in this way is now made upon us: "Choose this day . . . whom you would rather serve, whether the gods which your fathers served in Mesopotamia, or the gods of the Amorrites in whose land you dwell; but as for me and my house we will serve the Lord." No one thinks any more of the gods of Mesopotamia or of the Amorrites, but none the less, there are gods whom this modern world would have us worship, and we must take our choice whether we will serve them or our Lord Jesus Christ, who has gathered us into His Church, which He has declared to be the sure haven of our salvation.

We cannot forecast with any certainty what will be the character of the coming time, whether it will be an age in which the Church will regain something of her ancient hold on the minds and hearts of men, or an age in which the present

pressures, the pressure of intellectual difficulties from within, and the pressure of anti-Christian animosities from without, will be continued and intensified. The signs, it must be acknowledged, point rather to the sadder than to the brighter of the two possibilities. There is much in the spirit of the times and in the consolidation of the forces of its assailants which seems to forebode that the Church has so far experienced only the beginnings of her passion, and that its sharpest stages are yet to come. It must be, then, with the sense of these grave possibilities in front of us, but supported by the encouragement derivable from God's evident care for His Church during the trying century that has just left us, that we shall respond to the invitation given, and make our solemn act of homage to Jesus Christ, in other words, our solemn act of recognition of His Sovereignty over us, and that of His Church.

And it may be well that we should define for ourselves clearly what is involved in our whole-hearted acceptance of this sovereignty. It involves, in the first place, service of the heart, as is too clear, for no man was ever brought near to God or kept near to God by mere arguments or intellectual convictions. Indeed, unless the heart is rendering a loyal allegiance it will always be difficult for faith to preserve its balance. It involves a courage which will profess the faith openly, and accept all its requirements fearlessly. Indeed, the world itself, however it may judge contemptuously of some of our Catholic observances, respects and loves best just those amongst us who, whilst mingling with it in all innocent pursuits and amusements, are under no temptation to imitate the ways of Nicodemus. It involves a spirit of charity which will not be satisfied with self-regarding views and self-contained lives, but will show a due appreciation for the common brotherhood of man, and will be anxious to do its best, not its least, to render personal service to all who need it. But perhaps that upon which it is most practical that we should fix our minds whilst we make our act of homage, and declare our determination to be loyal to Christ and His Church, is the necessity of submitting our judgment fully to all its decisions, and seeking to preserve our ideas in the fullest accord with the spirit of its teaching. It is natural and inevitable that the active-minded and educated amongst us should perceive many difficulties in the way of harmonizing modern knowledge and modern ideas with the Church's teaching, natural too, and inevitable, that they should be perplexed and

harassed by them. Nor is it other than most desirable that they should apply their minds to think out as well as they can the bearing of one class of ideas on the other. Even if, for the time, such a process should lead to unpleasant antagonisms of opinion, which infirmities of judgment and character intensify beyond what is needful, the ultimate outcome of the controversies may be hoped to clear the way for a harmony. But it is a fatal thing for a Catholic to forget that the Church is an objective reality, and must be taken as she is. No man's protest or ridicule will ever succeed in causing her to renounce a single one of her God-given attributes or possessions. She is a Church appointed to teach with authority, and she will never abate her claims to teach thus, still less accept as a tribunal higher than her own, that of public opinion. Nor will she ever draw back from any one of her dogmatic decisions, her affirmations or condemnations of doctrines and systems, or tolerate a disposition among her children to confine these unalterable decisions within the strictest limits of formally *ex cathedra* definitions, to the disregard of her *quotidianum magisterium*. Nor again will it ever be possible to set on one side with impunity the consentient teaching of her theologians as of no account, if it should happen to seem to us incompatible with some cherished theory of a modern philosopher or investigator. Ostrich-like, we may try to ignore these facts, but facts they are, and facts we shall ever be compelled eventually to recognize them, for they are integral parts of that objective reality which is the Catholic Church, and the Church will never alter; we must take her as she is, or leave her, to our cost.

On the other hand, if we will take her as she is, we can still continue our studies in the various branches of intellectual inquiry, obedient in each branch to the laws belonging to it, and the claims of truth as they reveal themselves to us. We ought certainly, on grounds of reason as much as on grounds of faith, to beware of the tendency to claim certainty for conclusions which at best are not more than probable, and of the tendency to confound demonstrated facts with the hazardous theories based on them; we ought also to be on our guard against the tendency of current fashions of thought to bias our judgment. But if any fact is demonstratively established, the Church will never ask us to deny it. All that in that case we must guard against is the tendency to invade the domain of

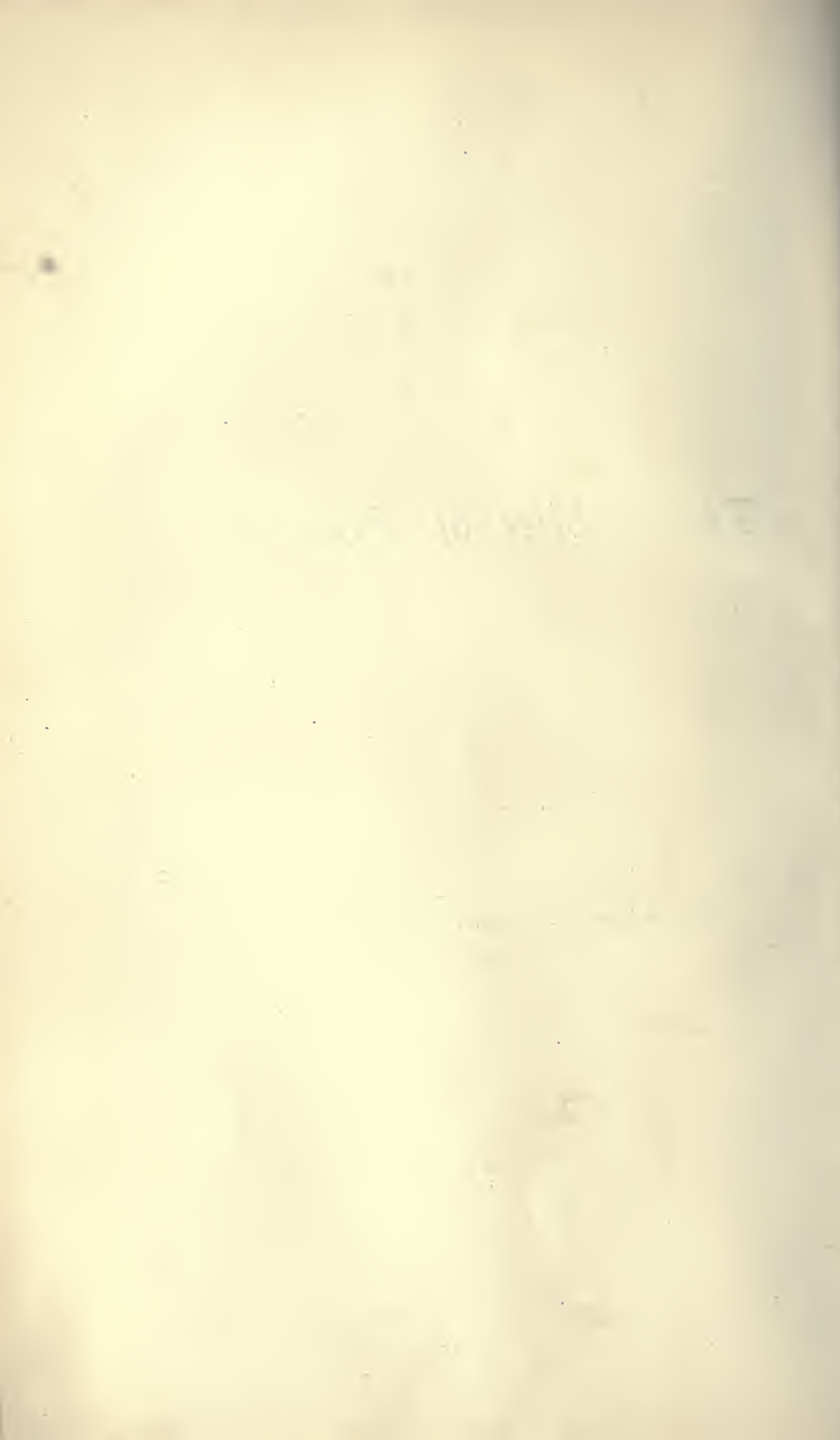
theology, and claim that some one or other of the doctrines to which the Church is committed is in contradiction with the now established fact, and must be surrendered. It does not follow that the two cannot be harmonized merely because some one or more individual judgments cannot discern the harmony. The harmony may exist, even though no one living can discern it. We must be content thus to leave the two apparently incompatible propositions side by side, just as we are often compelled to leave seemingly incompatible propositions side by side in other fields. There is nothing which is not eminently reasonable in this, and it is all the Church asks of us. Is it too much to hope that one effect of our Act of Homage, taken seriously, will be to secure for the Catholics of England a continuance of this loyal spirit, which has certainly been one of their distinctive notes during the century that has passed away?

The first of these is the fact that the
country is a very fertile one, and
the soil is very rich. The second
fact is that the climate is very
pleasant, and the third fact is
that the people are very friendly
and hospitable. The fourth fact
is that the country is very large,
and the fifth fact is that the
country is very beautiful. The sixth
fact is that the country is very
healthy, and the seventh fact is
that the country is very safe. The
eighth fact is that the country is
very cheap, and the ninth fact is
that the country is very good.

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The Jubilee of Pius X.

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The Jubilee of Pius X.

ON the 18th of this month Pius X. will complete fifty years of his priesthood. The approach of the day will recall vividly to his mind a quiet ordination ceremony at Castelfranco, a country town in the diocese of Treviso, in the province of Venice. It was the town to which, in his boyhood, he had walked daily to school, for he is a native of Riese, a village lying some three or four miles to the north of Castelfranco, not far from the line where the Venetian Alps begin to rise out of the flat plain. His parents, as we all know, were poor, his father having been during his lifetime the *curatore municipale* of the township. Often during Beppo's childhood, for so he was familiarly called, had they and their children felt the pinch of want, but their poverty was borne in the spirit which made them, as it has made so many other poor families who are the pride of the Catholic Church, a living illustration of the truth of the first Beatitude. As the child grew into boyhood, his spiritual and intellectual promise attracted the attention of two persons. Don Fusarini, his parish priest, was the first to open out to him the idea of the priesthood, an idea to which he joyfully responded, and this friend, after giving him private lessons in Latin, arranged for him to attend the gymnasium at Castelfranco. The other friend was, like himself, of humble origin, and a native of Riese, but was now what Beppo was destined to be some day, Cardinal Patriarch of Venice. This Cardinal Monico used to visit Riese from time to time, and always showed a paternal interest in his young fellow-townsmen. He nominated him to a bursar at the Little Seminary of Padua, a school of recognized excellence. There he was sent when he was sixteen, but two years later his father died, and it became a question whether he must not sacrifice his prospects of an ecclesiastical career, and with his brother Angelo work for the support of his widowed mother and sisters. It would have been a duty had not the mother refused to allow of it. With

the heroism of a true Christian mother, she would take upon herself the burden of toil and suffering rather than see her son disappointed of his cherished purpose. His school course at Padua completed, he passed on to the Greater Seminary of his own diocese at Treviso. In both places the reports entered on the registers show how well he had merited the esteem of his ecclesiastical superiors, and now the time had come for his elevation to the priesthood. By a happy chance the Bishop found it convenient to hold his ordination on this occasion at Castelfranco, and it became possible for his mother and family to be present. They were too poor to hire a conveyance, and perhaps too hardy to need it, but they walked the distance from the village in the early hours of the morning. An ordination is always a touching ceremony to witness, and we can realize the mother's consolation as she saw the Bishop's hands laid on her first-born's head, and knew that the mystic grace had passed into his soul. Then she took him back with her to Riese, the next day to experience a further consolation when she heard his first Mass, and received Communion from his hands. Two touching ceremonies, the stupendous dignity of which it is impossible to exaggerate! Yet who could have supposed that the jubilee of their occurrence would be celebrated by the Catholics of all nations gathering round the throne of St. Peter. His seminary professors may possibly have seen in their pupil qualities marking him out for future distinctions, but the external circumstances pointed rather to a life spent in the precious but unobtrusive ministrations of a country priest; and for the next seventeen years out of the fifty that have elapsed that was what resulted.

Some days after the ordination he was sent as assistant priest to Tombolo, a village on the further side of Castelfranco, and there he found himself under the rule of an aged *curato*, who seems to have kept him rather tightly in leading strings. Still it was good for one destined to command that he should learn from the first to run in harness, and meanwhile he found plenty of congenial work to exercise his zeal. He preached, he catechized the children, he visited the sick and poor; and in each of these departments of priestly activity he gathered good harvests, and endeared himself to his people. Nor, if Don Costantini was strict with him, did he fail to recognize and to delight in the promise that was in him. "Mark me," he is reported to have said in those days: "Don Beppo is a

good, fine young man. Before long we shall see him priest of one of the most important parishes in the diocese; then in red stockings; and then?" Though Don Costantini presumably did not mean to be taken literally, his words show how soon the zeal and enterprize of the future Pope began to manifest itself. After nine years of useful obscurity at Tombolo, he was appointed arch-priest of Salzano. This is a town near Mestre, and therefore not far from Venice, though still in the diocese of Treviso. He was now the pastor of some five hundred souls, with two other priests to work under him, and was not quite so hampered for want of means. He was, therefore, freer to carry out his own ideas of the ministry, but he continued to attach the chief importance to the three departments of the ministry that have been mentioned. He was assiduous in preaching, and his sermons were of the right sort, not set discourses delivered when custom and occasion demanded, but fervent addresses to his people, whose needs he understood, and whose minds and hearts he had an intense desire to instruct and enkindle. He was assiduous in catechizing, convinced that it was by a thorough training of the children that he could take the best security for the preservation of faith and religious practice in the coming generations. But, above all, he was the friend of the poor, whose condition he understood from his own hard experiences in the past. He spent little on himself, so little that his life in this respect hardly differed from what it had been in his youth, but to the extent of his means, and even beyond his means, he was lavish in his expenditure on the poor; so much so, that his two sisters who kept house for him, were often hard put to in their endeavour to keep him from giving away most necessary articles of food or apparel. Nor did his solicitude for the poor confine itself to this kind of almsgiving in cases of urgent distress. Since the time when he was at Tombolo, perhaps since the time when he was a student in the Seminary, but still more, now that at Salzano he had wider opportunities of observation and action, he turned his attention to those perplexing questions concerning the lot of the poor, which the changes of agricultural and commercial conditions have caused to be so urgent. The working-man now finds his employment precarious to a degree far beyond what it was in the past, and if in mere figures his wages have risen, their purchasing value, in many places, has greatly fallen. What is to be the remedy for a state of things which neither human

endurance nor Christian charity can tolerate much longer? In many lands this question is exercising the minds of the clergy, and in northern Italy the Abbate Sarto was becoming prominent among such social workers. His rural banks (*casse rurali*) through which the poor could in time of need borrow money at a low rate of interest, originally intended as an experiment on behalf of the inhabitants of Salzano and the surrounding districts, were found to be so beneficial that they spread rapidly from place to place, until they became a stable institution throughout North Italy. Nor was this the only remedial scheme for social improvement which originated in his mind, and passed from Salzano into general acceptance. Still, he was no socialistic dreamer, and always insisted that the true way of reform was, not by setting class against class, but by the co-operation of rich and poor on the basis of Christian principles, and under the influence of the Christian spirit.

In 1875, to the deep regret of the people of Salzano, he was transferred to Treviso. His talents were now fully recognized, and it was judged that a more important sphere should be assigned for their use. Accordingly he was appointed to quite a group of responsible offices. He was made Canon Theologian of the Cathedral, Prosynodal Examiner, first Professor of Dogma then Rector of the Episcopal Seminary, and, after a short interval, Chancellor of the diocese and Vicar-General. To the requirements of these various charges he appears to have risen without difficulty, and they furnished him with valuable opportunities for studying the working of the Church's system as a whole. This was especially the case when Bishop Zinelli, finding himself to be past work, confided practically the entire administration of the diocese to his hands. Of two things he became firmly convinced by his experience at this time, that whereas the revival of the religious spirit in the masses must be the chief aim of the modern Italian clergy, the key to this revival was in the effectual training of the clergy, and the key to this was in the administration of the Seminaries. Hence at Treviso, in the discharge of his office as Rector, he took particular pains with his young Levites, and afterwards as Bishop he did not think it sufficient to provide them with good superiors and teachers, but paid them frequent visits himself, gave them ready access to his presence, taught them to confide in him as a father, and directed their aspirations to the highest standard of priestly life. When Bishop Zinelli died in 1879

the Chapter of Treviso testified to their opinion of what he had done for the diocese during four short years, by unanimously electing him to be Vicar Capitular during the vacancy. They were even hoping that he might be made their new Bishop. This, indeed, did not happen, for the see was given to Don Giuseppe Callegari, his old school-fellow at Padua. But a more happy selection could not have been made, for its effect was to bring these two men once more together and cause them to become life-long friends and fellow-labourers. Don Callegari kept Don Sarto as his Vicar-General, and from that time onwards they were of one mind as to the methods by which the people were to be regenerated. It is this which explains why in his first creation of Cardinals, Pius X. promoted, together with his Cardinal Secretary, just this one other, Bishop Callegari, by that time Bishop of Padua. He wished evidently to give all possible advantage of position to the man to whom he chiefly looked to continue his social work in the north.

We trust it may not be so in the future, but in the past Don Sarto's ecclesiastical life seems to have run in successive periods of nine to ten years each. He was nine years at Tombolo, nearly nine years at Salzano, nine at Treviso, nine at Mantua, and only just ten at Venice. His elevation to the Episcopate and appointment to the see of Mantua, took place in 1884. Mantua was a difficult post for a Bishop to fill, so much had it suffered from the political difficulties of the time. For years past it had either been left without episcopal rule, or had had it persistently impeded by anti-clerical opposition. Moreover, the Italian Government, on annexing the province, had secularized all the monasteries and convents, laid crushing taxes on every species of Church property, and cast the entire weight of its influence into the scale hostile to religious instruction and observance. To cope with such a situation an able prelate was required, and the Bishops of North Italy being consulted, could recommend no one more suitable than the Vicar-General of Treviso. Leo XIII. took their recommendation and appointed him, but we can imagine with what hesitations and anxieties he entered upon his task. Mgr. de Waal, in his *Life of Pius X.*, published at the beginning of his Pontificate, had the useful thought of referring to the archives of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, in which the triennial Reports of the Bishops to the Holy See are preserved. From Bishop

Sarto's Report of 1885, we learn that the clergy of the diocese, now that the Religious had been ejected, were sadly insufficient in number for the posts requiring to be filled, that they had lost heart in the face of the discouraging outlook, and that for the most part they had grown remiss in their duty. The laity generally, on the other hand, had become estranged from the Church. Few came to Mass or the sacraments, many were not even baptized or validly married, whilst their notions of the Church's doctrine and of the motives animating her ministers were drawn not from authentic sources, but from the interested misrepresentations of her enemies. If the clergy attempted to seek out the people in their homes, they knew that they could not expect even common civility, and might easily meet with downright insult or brutality. The prospect looked hopeless; still the choice of Bishop Sarto was justified by the results. A complete transformation was out of the question, but he applied himself resolutely to the task, and by the end of his nine years' tenure of the see a distinct change for the better was perceptible. The Mantuans had watched his life of self-sacrifice, his affection for the poor, his diligence and sincerity in promoting their welfare. They saw that he was their sincere friend, they loved him, and were prepared to give him an unprejudiced hearing. Then he preached and instructed in season and out of season, and caused his clergy to do the same. Much disillusionment followed, and under its influence the smouldering embers of the faith of their childhood were rekindled in many hearts. When this *point d'appui* had been obtained the rest was less difficult, and he showed his discernment by banding the practising Catholics together in associations, and utilizing such occasions for large gatherings as were supplied by the recurrence of the centenaries of St. Anselm and St. Aloysius, in 1886 and 1891. He understood how, when multitudes meet together for impressive demonstrations, and proclaim openly their attachment to their faith, the weaker brethren are strengthened, and human respect, which accounts for the majority of the abstentions from religious practice, loses many of its terrors.

It was a signal testimony to the excellence of Bishop Sarto's work at Mantua that, when in 1893 the Patriarchal See of Venice became vacant, there was once more a general consensus of opinion that he was the man to succeed to it. Leo XIII., who had been highly delighted with his administra-

tion of Mantua, thought so too, and appointed him in the June of 1893, promoting him simultaneously to the dignity of Cardinal. Next to the Holy See, Venice is the most dignified of the Sees of Italy, and probably also the most influential. No wonder that the humble-minded native of Riese should feel appalled at the prospect of having to sustain such unexpected dignities and responsibilities, or that he should have fallen ill when the news reached him. But no choice was left him by the Pontiff who had power to bind in conscience. So he obeyed, and entered on his new office in the same spirit of faith and trust which had strengthened him hitherto. It was God's work, and God would guide and uphold His instrument. But it is an illustration of the apostolic poverty in which he had been living at Mantua, and was about to enter the palace of the Patriarchs, that having no means with which to purchase a scarlet *cappa magna*, he had planned with his sisters, who were still his housekeepers, to have his violet one dyed. The process was not successful, but fortunately led to the fact getting known. The Mantuan ladies were of course glad of the opportunity of showing their affection for the pastor they were losing.

Their new Patriarch was not a stranger to the Venetians. He was a native of the territory which had formerly belonged to their city, and was still part of the administrative province. He was known to them personally from having preached often in their pulpits during his residence at Salzano. The fame, too, had reached them of his good work, not only at Mantua, but throughout the north, for by this time the Catholics of North Italy were banded together in associations of one kind or another, most helpful for the revival of the religious spirit, and it was to an impulse received from Don Sarto that they were mainly due. They were grateful to have such a man set over them, and they received him with a warm welcome. He had indeed a trouble with the Government, which in the first instance refused him the *exequatur*, but so successful was his diplomacy that this trouble resulted in confirming rather than destroying the good opinion of his personality already formed by the civil rulers. Always afterwards his relations with them remained amicable, and as cordial as was consistent with the essential opposition of their views. Moreover, when in 1901 the King sent a Royal Duke to represent him at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new Campanile of San Marco, a difficult occasion was again

made the means of further improving the *modus vivendi*; for when about to bless the foundation-stone he succeeded in so wording his address as, without the slightest compromise of principle, to send every one away pleased. It was the same in his dealing with the local authorities. Often, of course, they were in antagonism to his religious aims, but they were usually attracted by the charm of his personality, and the effect was to minimize, if not remove, the evils consequent on the present tension between Church and State.

We may pass over the details of his spiritual work at Venice, as they are not required for our present purpose. Suffice it to say that he pursued the same ends as at Treviso and at Mantua, and pursued them by the same methods. Still, as Bishop of so important a city, and as the now trusted leader of the Catholic party in North Italy, he was able not merely to repeat his former achievements, but to carry them on to higher stages of development. So by the time of his election to the Papacy a paper like the *Tribuna* could say of him, "Pius is a politician of the first rank. He has succeeded in reuniting the clerical party in Venice, and with its help he controls the council, the public life, and the whole city." This indeed is a version of the facts as seen through anti-clerical eye-glasses. Still, it is a testimony to the success of the Patriarch's apostleship, and to the verity of facts which presented in their true colours should read rather thus: "By his fervent advocacy of Catholic principles he brought back large numbers to the practice of their religion, and taught them how to band together for defence against their persecutors. The practising Catholics in their turn made their just influence felt in the council and the public life of the whole city."

We have dwelt thus briefly on the character of the earlier life and work of Pius X., both because the occasion of the Jubilee suggests such a retrospect, and because it explains why the choice of the Cardinals fell upon one whom the outside world had not included among the eligible. It is the duty of the Electors to choose the candidate they consider the best, and this means that they must take account of the state of the world he will have to deal with. On this question as to the sort of Pope the times required there seems to have been an intelligible difference of opinion among the members of the Conclave of 1903. The supreme ruler they were about to

elect would have to deal with questions of various sorts ; with intellectual questions bearing on the relation of inherited Catholic faith to the present state of human knowledge and theorizing ; with diplomatic questions bearing on the relations between the Church and civil Governments ; and with spiritual and social questions affecting the Christian life of the people, and the temporal welfare of the poorer classes. On the other hand, it was neither necessary nor possible that he should enter upon his Pontificate equally versed in all the branches of his future administration. Human nature is limited, and it suffices if a Pope has at his service a competent staff through whose departmental labours he can be provided with the necessary materials, and through whose experienced counsels he can be aided in forming his judgments. Nor does this mean, in the case of a Pope any more than in the case of a King or a Prime Minister, that for the subjects which he has not made specially his own he must be a puppet in the hands of his subordinates. A Pope particularly is sure not to have been chosen unless he is known to have some reasonable acquaintance with a wide range of ecclesiastical subjects, and some sound principles of judgment to apply to the facts which a growing experience will not fail to store up in his mind. It is not usually thought in their respective offices that our Home Secretaries or Ministers of War are mere puppets, and those who have had to see on business Popes such as Leo XIII. or Pius X. notice how they have always insisted on understanding every point for themselves, how with this object they would carefully study reports, make criticisms, ask questions, order further facts or opinions to be collected, and how determined they were to be personally convinced before proceeding to final decisions. Certainly Pius X., though it has been suggested of him by many a caterer for the public press, is the last man in the world to allow himself to be treated as a puppet by any class of his advisers.

Still, though a Pope cannot be expected to be fully equipped at the time of his election for all the varieties of the subject-matter on which he will have to decide, and although his decisions on these various subjects can none the less inspire confidence, it does make a difference which of the subjects for his solicitude he has next his heart, especially if the result of his predilection for it is that he has spent a lifetime in studying it, and has acquired a reputation for his success in

dealing with it. For in this case his predilection is likely to impart a special direction to his Pontificate, and in all that appertains to it he will speak with an authority which, being personal as well as official, is the more calculated to obtain assent and adhesion. Hence the question before the Electors of 1903, Does the Church in its present crisis need most an intellectual Pope, or a diplomatic Pope, or a Pope fitted to take the lead in a vast movement for the renewal of the religious spirit among the people and the betterment of their social conditions?

Much could be said on behalf of each of these alternatives, but the feeling of the majority appears to have been in favour of the last-mentioned. To repel the assaults of misguided intellect, to humour the susceptibilities of civil Governments, we can imagine the advocates of this alternative saying, are matters of importance which no Pope can afford to neglect; but the chief necessity of the time is to bring the *people* back to Christ, and the more we can succeed in accomplishing this, the more the other matters will tend to settle themselves in a satisfactory manner. Civil Governments cannot but be largely influenced by the wishes of the people who elect them; and there is a vast deal in the truth which St. Paul enunciates in the words, "The animal man understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God, because they are spiritually discerned." There will always be intellectual difficulties to try man's faith, but their number and gravity will increase or diminish in proportion as hearts are set wrong or right.

As soon as the majority in the Conclave had resolved that this principle was to prevail, it must have been almost a foregone conclusion with them that the Cardinal Patriarch of Venice was the man marked out by divine providence for the Pontificate. His whole life, as we have seen, had been dominated by just this purpose of reviving the religious spirit, and he more than any other Italian Cardinal, perhaps more than any Cardinal anywhere, had succeeded in doing it. Moreover, if he was sprung from the poor, in his early days had experienced their privations himself, and ever after had been in intimate contact with them; if he had never wished, even in the days of his highest exaltation, to disown his class or disengage himself from its mode of living and thinking—were not these additional qualifications which contributed to render him the ideal man for this universal charge?

Pius X. has not been more than five years on the throne, but, after the manner of so many of his predecessors, he has accomplished a surprising amount of work in that short space. The nature of much of it has, of course, been determined, not so much by his spontaneous impulses, as by the constraint of circumstances. Still, one can trace throughout it all the influence of the ideas for which he was chosen. These ideas he set forth in lucid terms in the Encyclical in which he announced his accession. Most of us remember the one phrase which he gave in that Encyclical as the motto of his Pontificate, "to restore all things in Christ," but the whole Encyclical is worthy to be frequently re-read and studied, for it expounds a whole programme of Catholic action, and answers entirely to the expectations which caused the Electors to choose him. Almost everywhere, he says, we see an impious war being waged against God. It is the simple truth that the "Gentiles are raging, and the people imagining vain things," so much so, that the common cry of the enemies of God is "Depart from us." The majority of men have ceased to show reverence towards the eternal God, and pay no attention to His Supreme will in the relations of their private and public life; nay, even strive with all their might, and by every expedient, to root out the very memory and knowledge of God. To such a degree of boldness and madness is this war on religion carried by attacks on the doctrines of faith, and on the duties of men to God; and on the other hand, by man setting himself in the place of God, and claiming to be adored as God—that it may well seem as if we are experiencing a foretaste of the evils reserved for the last days.

Victory is always on the side of God, and sooner or later it is certain that He will arise and confound His enemies. Meanwhile, it is our duty to hasten the advent of this day of Divine triumph, not only by crying out continually, "Let God arise," but by vindicating by word and action His right to be worshipped and obeyed. Nor is it the law of nature only which demands this of us, but also concern for the common good of our race, for, although the men of the day are continually extolling what they call the progress of humanity, what we chiefly see around us is an internecine war, one might almost say of all against all. True, there is a desire for peace in the hearts of many, and we hear of a "party of order" being formed to maintain it. But all is in vain, for there is but one true "party

of order," the party of God. It is this which we must foster and extend, if we are moved by a sincere desire for peace. And how is it to be done? Only through Jesus Christ. "No other foundation can any man lay, save that which is already laid, which is Christ Jesus." We must then strive to bring back the human race to acceptance of the rule of Christ. When that is achieved, they will already have returned to God; and not to the God of the materialists who sits idly apart regardless of human affairs, but to the true and the living God, One in nature, Three in persons, the Creator of the world, the wise Disposer of all things, the most just Law-giver who punishes the guilty and promises rewards to the virtuous. And to Christ the way is through the Church, which Christ founded and to which He entrusted His doctrine and His Commandments, together with rich stores of grace for the sanctification and salvation of men. "Let the Church," says St. John Chrysostom, "be your hope, let the Church be your salvation, let the Church be your refuge." We must then endeavour to bring men back to the Church by rooting out that fearful blasphemy whereby man has sought to substitute himself for God, by claiming for the holy laws and counsels of the Gospel their ancient honour, by instilling more solidly the truths committed to the Church, together with its doctrines concerning the sanctity of marriage, the instruction and education of the young, the right of property and the lawful use of it, the duties which men owe to their rulers, the balance which should be preserved in accordance with Christian law and custom between the different classes in human society.

It is this which Pius X. means when he proclaims his desire to "restore all things in Christ." It is too ambitious, too impossible an object for attainment, some may say. It is indeed, but the Church which in her beginnings christianized first the Roman world, and then the pagan tribes of northern Europe, has still the same means at her service. Nor, when one considers them, are the causes which draw men or keep men from God in our days so very different in kind from what they were in the past. In all ages it is a question mainly to teaching the truth in Christ and of inducing men to emancipate themselves from the three concupiscences which St. James has named. Besides, if the wished-for end is unattainable in its entirety, it is certainly attainable in a greater or less degree. What then is the method to be pursued?

The Encyclical here sketches out the policy with which its author's name was already identified. The beginning must be made with the clergy. "Let our first care," he says to the Bishops whom he is directly addressing, be "to form Christ in those who by the duty of their office are called to form Him in others," whence he draws the conclusion, so consonant with his own past practice, "Let the Bishops pay special attention to their seminaries; and see that sound doctrine and holy living flourish there." Let them find their chief delight in these abodes of their young aspirants, and neglect nothing which the Council of Trent has prescribed for their greater utility; and let them not be rash in laying hands on any one, but bear in mind that such as those they ordain will be, such will their flocks be. Then comes a passage in which Pius X. expresses his determination to preserve the younger clergy "from the insidious methods of that new and fallacious science, which has in it no savour of Christ, but strives by astute and deceptive reasonings to implant the errors of Rationalism or Semi-rationalism." Further, though he would not discourage those younger clerics who may desire to apply themselves to the study of any kind of useful learning, in the hopes of being better able to defend the truth and refute the misrepresentations of the Church's enemies, still his preference will always be for those priests who dedicate their lives to the welfare of souls by the exercise of such offices as become the priest studious for God's glory. Among these offices he emphasizes the importance of preaching and religious instruction, since, man's will being free, this is the chief means by which he can be brought to submit himself to the divine rule.

How many are there who hate Christ, and abhor the Church and the Gospel, through ignorance rather than through malice; and this, not only among the masses who are more easily led into error, but even among the educated classes, men of more than average erudition not excepted. This is the chief cause of the loss of faith, for it is not from the progress of knowledge but from ignorance that faith suffers; and it is where the ignorance is greater, that the lapse of faith is more common. Hence the commandment of Christ to His Apostles is—"Go and teach all nations."

He would also have the clergy remember always that "the Lord is not in the whirlwind." It is not by a bitter zeal that souls are gained to God, rather by this means they are hardened

in their errors and vices. Taught by the example of the Master and the precept of the Apostle the clergy must "reprove, entreat, rebuke," but "in all patience;" their charity must be patient and kind "even to those who are hostile to us and persecute us." These

are less bad perhaps than they seem. By intercourse with others, by prejudices, by the counsels and examples of their companions, by a false human respect they have been drawn over to the side of the irreligious, but their will is not really so depraved as they themselves wish it to be supposed. Why should we not hope that the fire of Christian charity will expel the darkness from their minds and bring to them the light and peace of God? It may be that the fruit we seek through our labours will delay to come, but charity is never exhausted by having to wait, for it knows that God's rewards are offered not to results but to intentions.

These, according to the Encyclical, are the obligations the clergy must take on themselves in the work of restoring all things in Christ. But the Christian laity have their duties also, on their zealous discharge of which the hoped-for results will be largely dependent. Pius X. would have them band together for the good of religion in associations of various kinds. Only let them be under the leadership and direction of the Bishops whom Christ has set to rule in His Church. Let their membership be confined to those who are living good Christian lives; and let them not waste their strength in barren speculative controversies, but remember that what the times require is action, and action consisting in the full and faithful observance of God's laws and the Church's, in the free and open profession of their religion, and in the exercise of works of charity of every kind, without self-seeking or regard for earthly interests. "Such example," Pius X. adds, and shows the special bent of his mind by adding, "will have far more power to move hearts and to gain them than words or dissertations, however sublime."

These were the objects which on his accession to the Pontificate Pius X. set himself to attain. How deeply he is in earnest about the work, and how resolved to carry it through to the extent of his power, breaking down all obstacles in his path, is conspicuous in the whole tenour of his subsequent action. A month or two after his election an important Catholic Congress was to be held at Bologna. It was the nineteenth of a series, the purpose of which was to promote and organize

"Catholic action," that is, Catholic religious and social work, throughout Italy. He himself had been mainly instrumental in initiating the first of the series, which was held at Piacenza in 1885. Ever since he had regarded them as a most valuable means of inducing the laity to co-operate for the restoration of the Christian life. Hence, on the assembling of the Bologna Congress he sent it a letter of cordial welcome, but when later he found that the socialistic tendencies of some of its members had introduced an element of conflict into their ranks, he treated the matter as urgent, and not only besought them to keep united lest their power for good should be undermined, but drew up for their guidance a syllabus gathered from the utterances of Leo XIII., laying down clearly and distinctly what must and what must not be held about the dominion and use of property. In the spring of the following year, that is, of 1904, came the commemoration of the thirteenth centenary of the death of St. Gregory the Great. It was a happy synchronism, for the self-same task of restoring all in Christ which was confronting the Holy See now, had confronted the great Pope by whom more than by any other the solid foundations of medieval Christendom were laid. Pius X. did not miss the opportunity, and in an Encyclical laden with apt quotations from St. Gregory's writings showed how the methods which he himself was prescribing were the very methods which his illustrious predecessor had employed with such effect. In the spring of 1905 he began to take serious measures for a world-wide organization of the work of religious instruction. It was then that the *Acerbo nimis* was published, the Encyclical in which, after repeating with amplifications what he had said in his first Encyclical, about the prevailing ignorance of the Catholic doctrine being the chief cause of the decline of faith, he gives an admirable exposition of the art of catechizing, and ends with some prescriptions to ensure its regular use throughout the Church. Also at this time he took the first step towards the introduction of a uniform catechism into the schools of all lands, for he revised with his own hands the catechism already in use in the north of Italy, prescribed it for the dioceses of the Roman province, whilst encouraging the Bishops to adopt it elsewhere. It is a most practical little catechism, containing an introductory part that even infants can understand, and then two parts, one for younger and one for older children, all arranged so that the later parts presuppose and develop what is

in the earlier. His measures for the reform of Church Music breathe the same anxiety to foster the religious spirit. He would have the music heard in the churches to be such as may aid the soul to realize more fully the solemn character of the mysteries enacted, deeming it is worse than useless when it tends to draw off attention to mundane thoughts. He must have felt acutely—indeed he told us that he did—having to forbid the formation of *Associations Cultuelles* in France. But again we can see how he was dominated by the conviction that the first necessity for the Church is to be free to carry out her own system in her own spirit, and to have her own prelates and clergy trained and chosen by herself. Was it not better for the Church of France that she should contend with the extremes of poverty rather than accept conditions enabling an anti-Christian Government to sow dissensions and alien ideas among clergy and people?

Nor is it difficult to detect the same mental attitude in his war against Modernism. A writer for the English press, in reviewing the first five years of the present Pontificate, concludes that it has not been an unqualified success. He thinks that Pius X., though the most conscientious and earnest of men, is lacking in the breadth of view which characterized Leo XIII.; and he contrasts the way in which Pius has treated the Modernists and Christian Democrats with that in which Innocent III. treated St. Francis. It cannot, he thinks, be said of the Roman Church of the moment that "she thoroughly understands what no other Church has ever understood, how to deal with enthusiasts." This critic might have reflected that Pius X. is more likely to understand his own work than any outsider. It may be doubted whether Lord Macaulay's famous remark has hit the mark. If by enthusiasts are meant eccentricities, or minds so wedded to their own opinions that they cannot submit to the judgment of authority, it might be fairly maintained that the Roman Church is less able to find a place for them in her system than any other communion in the world. What Pius X. felt about Modernism, as his own Encyclical has told us, is not only that it was unfounded in itself and opposed to the doctrines of which the Church is the divinely-appointed guardian, but that it was an error which cut at the very roots of that Catholic life which it is his mission, like a careful gardener, to revive and preserve. It is true the Modernists protest that the religious life of the Church

is the element in it they chiefly stand by, but Pius X. would say that what they are striving to do is to cut the flower of Christian piety away from its roots. Dissevered it may still retain its form and beauty for a while, but before long it must inevitably fade away and die.

To conclude. Our retrospect has shown us our present Holy Father as raised up by Divine Providence to be in a very special sense the Pope of the Christian Life. From his youth upwards events were so disposed as to train him for a work of regeneration which in our present circumstances is so much needed. And now that we have learnt to know him and see him laying the foundations of his great undertaking, we cannot but recognize that in him God has once more given to the Church a true Leader, with a profound insight into the needs of his age, a clear conception of the remedies they require, and a strong will and determination to apply them. The more enthusiastically, then, will we gather round him at this time of Jubilee, with assurances of our loyal and affectionate obedience. *Ad multos annos.*

The Life of Cardinal Wiseman.

Reprinted from "The Month," January, 1898.



The Life of Cardinal Wiseman.

NEXT month we shall hope to devote a more careful appreciation of Mr. Wilfrid Ward's *Life and Character of Cardinal Wiseman*. It is not many days since the book came into our hands, and we feel the need of more time to study it as it deserves. We must not, however, omit to welcome it at once at least with a few brief words. We have waited for it a considerable time, and have lost in succession two biographers who from their intimate knowledge of the Cardinal were so well qualified to write about him. Such a loss must always be regretted, and we feel it probably more, not less, after reading the few fragments of Father Morris's projected work which Mr. Ward has incorporated in his own. Still Mr. Ward's talent for biography, assisted by the wealth of materials which had been placed in his hands, has enabled him to supply the loss far better than we could have anticipated. The portraiture may not be quite as distinct as would have been given by a competent writer of the Cardinal's own generation, but we have at all events a picture drawn which those who knew Cardinal Wiseman can recognize as faithful and lifelike. We have too what perhaps the biographers whom we have lost could not have given us so satisfactorily as an artist like Mr. Ward, a vivid delineation of the dramatic element in so historical a life.

For Cardinal Wiseman's life was a true drama, the drama of the Restoration of the Hierarchy. It is from this centre that we necessarily view all else, both what preceded and what succeeded. During the times of persecution the Church of England was administered by Vicars Apostolic, that is, by prelates governing, not in their own names as ordinaries, but as delegates of the Holy See, which takes under its own immediate care all such districts as are not yet ripe for the normal conditions of ecclesiastical government. But with the gradual abatement of the persecution it became an object of desire that Bishops in ordinary, duly constituted under an Archbishop into

a province capable of synodical action, might be restored to this country, and many applications were made to obtain the concession from Rome. Until the middle of the present century, however, the Holy See did not look with a very favourable eye on such applications, partly, no doubt, because it did not consider the English Catholics to be as yet a sufficiently numerous body, but perhaps still more because of the anti-Roman spirit which seemed to be inspiring the applicants. When, however, the application was renewed in 1847, this unwholesome spirit, if it had not altogether died out in the country, was at all events entirely absent from the minds of those who were working for the Hierarchy. Bishops Wiseman and Ullathorne, who then advocated the cause at Rome, and those in England by whom they were deputed, were surpassed by none in their loyalty to the Holy See. Indeed, to confine attention to the prelate with whom we are now concerned, the desire to encourage a larger and more truly Catholic and Roman spirit, was the leading motive of his life. But he felt also most deeply, and, as the sequel has shown, most justly, that the Church in England could not hope to make great advances, until it was able to enjoy those advantages for effective action which belong only to a hierarchical organization.

In spite of these altered circumstances, there was some opposition at Rome to the project of Restoration. Among other matters, the Court of Rome desired to show consideration to the wishes of the English Government, which they imagined might feel aggrieved by the presence of a Hierarchy in their midst. We know how well founded such presentiments were, but Lord John Russell had more than once expressed himself as indifferent to the arrangements for the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction which the Catholics, or any other religious bodies in the kingdom, might desire to make for themselves. Probably then our Hierarchy would have been established a few years earlier than it actually was, had it not been for the revolutionary disturbance which just then forced Pius IX. to seek refuge in the Neapolitan territory. This disaster necessarily caused delay, but the preparatory work was continued without interruption by the Congregations all through the trying times, as if to assimilate the conditions under which the Holy See provided us with our new succession to the conditions under which St. Gregory gave us our first,

It is not necessary to tell the well-known story of the publication on September 29, 1850, of the Brief by which the Hierarchy was constituted, with Wiseman, now Cardinal, as its chief. England went mad in a manner which now seems inexplicable, and the Prime Minister was forced by the outcry into contradiction with his own previous utterances, on which the Holy See had been relying. It is sometimes said that Cardinal Wiseman's letter of announcement, dated, according to the established etiquette, from "without the Flaminian Gate," was what first kindled the fire of popular excitement. But, as Mr. Ward shows, the *Times* had already sounded its note of indignation on the issue of the Brief, before that letter of announcement reached the country; and when the letter arrived, it was precisely the existent and growing excitement which created in Father Whitty's mind the doubt whether he ought to publish it. Still, there can be no doubt that the Cardinal's letter added fuel to the flame. In it he spoke grandiloquently of having been appointed "to govern the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex, as Ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as Administrator with ordinary jurisdiction." Of course he claimed only spiritual jurisdiction over these districts, but the untutored English mind at once jumped to the conclusion that temporal jurisdiction was intended, and that it was in presence of a deliberate purpose to upset the throne and deprive Englishmen of their liberties. Looking back we cannot but regret that Cardinal Wiseman was not better advised in his choice of terms, but he does not seem to have foreseen in the least the interpretation to which his language would be subjected. He had not anticipated that his letter would be found interesting to any save those who were prepared to receive him as their spiritual ruler.

As soon, however, as he realized the state of affairs, he set to work to remove the mistaken impression, and it is wonderful how quickly and completely he succeeded. *The Address to the English People*, written in the short space of three or four days, and amidst incessant interruptions, was his first step in this direction, and its effect was instantaneous. It was printed *in extenso* in all the daily papers, though it took up six columns and a half in the *Times*, and, this notwithstanding, thirty thousand copies of the pamphlet itself were sold before the week was out. Mr. Ward prints its salient passages, and after reading them no

one will be surprised at the acknowledgment of its skill which reached the Cardinal from all sides. "Our anti-Papacy zealots," said, for instance, the *Weekly News*, "hardly knew that Dr. Wiseman had left the Flaminian Gate when, lo, he appears, and issues a manifesto in which he certainly deals slashing blows among his assailants right and left, even if he does not succeed in parrying all those that have been aimed at his own party. We have seldom read an abler specimen of controversial writing than this document." The "Appeal" did not at once stop the agitation—that could hardly have been expected; but it does seem at once to have convinced all the square-headed members of the community that the country was making itself ridiculous. Hence an instantaneous change to this extent, that men like Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Roebuck were able to command public attention when they delivered their protest, and hence also, when the threatened Bill against the holders of illegal ecclesiastical titles was brought forward in Parliament, the savage provisions of its original form was converted into provisions which have remained perfectly harmless ever since.

The Cardinal followed up his Address by sermons and other expedients, and seems to have surprised even those who knew him best by the skill and force with which he rose to the occasion. Nor does he seem to have been much disturbed by the outcry. When involved in domestic disputes in which his administration was opposed, or his actions censured, he usually gave way to depression of spirits, and became fretful. But he stood up against the violence of this national panic in perfect calmness, and never seems to have lost his temper or failed in courtesy. Was it that he was an accurate observer, and perceived how fictitious the agitation was, and how slight its hold on the great heart of the English people?

Certainly his after-life showed how well he understood his fellow-countrymen. By his lectures on scientific subjects, and in other ways, he was brought more and more into familiar relations with them, and as they learnt to know him personally they fell under the charm of his genial manners. So it came to pass that from a national aversion he became something of a popular favourite, as was witnessed by the unwonted displays of sympathy and interest which marked his splendid funeral in 1864.

In the present brief notice we have only been able to touch slightly on this one matter of his relations with the English

people, but we must thank Mr. Ward for his brilliant treatment, not of this only, but of so many other interesting phases and aspects of Wiseman's career. Some of them required very delicate handling, and they have received it. In particular the dissension between Wiseman and Errington, on which a recent writer had cast such a false light, is admirably discussed with the aid of one of Father Morris's two fragments. In the *Life of Cardinal Manning* this episode appeared to be most disedifying, and to reflect seriously on Manning's good reputation. As it appears now we have only an illustration of those disagreements which result from difference of personal character and are forced on simply because both parties desire according to their lights to act conscientiously.

The Life of Cardinal Manning.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

Reprinted from "The Month," February, 1896.

The Life of General Manning

BY THE REV. J. H. MANNING

NEW YORK: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, 1884.

The Life of Cardinal Manning.

FIRST ARTICLE.

NO more tempting subject could well have fallen to a biographer than the life of Cardinal Manning. An Anglican ecclesiastic and religious leader of the front rank during the eventful period of the Tractarian Movement ; a convert second in importance only to one in the distinguished group which that movement sent into the Catholic Church ; an Archbishop who guided the fortunes of English Catholicism for more than a quarter of a century, and by his skill and influence contributed so much to reclaim for it its rightful place in English life and society ; the administrator to whose energy we owe the numerous Elementary, Industrial, and Reformatory Schools, in which our children can be brought up in their own faith ; the philanthropist who in his old age, whether wisely or unwisely, at least in pure compassion for the sufferings of the poor, made such a gallant attempt to mediate between them and their employers, and to substitute methods of conciliation and mutual understanding for methods fraught with imminent danger to the peace of society ; the prelate, too, who did not limit his activity to this country, but took a prominent part in the deliberations of the Church Universal, and left his mark on the decrees of perhaps the greatest of the Œcumenical Councils—the biography of such a man could claim to be of unique interest, and, if adequately treated, could look for a grateful reception from Catholics and Protestants alike.

Unfortunately the writer to whom this splendid opportunity was given has not proved equal to the task. In interest, indeed, and even in intense interest, Mr. Purcell's book is not deficient, nor could it have been, seeing the richness of the documents at his command. But there are higher considerations than mere interest to which a biographer should attend. In using his materials, he should be careful to respect privacy, and in interpreting them, he should give a just, and not a mere distorted,

portrait of his subject. We have no predisposition to judge him otherwise than favourably, but, in all sincerity, we are constrained to judge that in both these particulars he has failed lamentably, and has thereby inflicted an unmerited injury on the reputation of Cardinal Manning, and on what in the eyes of the multitude is inseparable from this, the cause of the Catholic faith in this country.

Mr. Purcell describes himself as having felt anxious, whilst setting forth the supernatural side of the late Cardinal's character, not to leave unrecorded the corresponding human side which was in him as in other men. This in itself is a sound principle of biography, and Mr. Purcell has been able to cite the late Father Morris, who, it seems, commended him for adopting it :

I remember at our first consultation, Canon Morris putting the following question: "On what principle is the *Life of Cardinal Manning* based? Do you relate the simple facts, without omissions or embellishments; or do you, by what is [?] called judicious suppressions, produce an idealized picture, instead of the man as he was in truth and reality?" On learning the answer, Canon Morris added: "In so complicated a life as Manning's, you have pursued the safest, wisest, and, indeed, the only honest course."¹

We have often heard Father Morris speak in the same sense, but, from intimate knowledge of his views, we can confidently assert that it would make him turn in his grave could he know the use to which his innocent words have been put.

It is surely one thing to give a truthful presentation of the shades as well as the lights in a man's character, and quite another to lay bare to the public gaze his inmost thoughts and most confidential communications. Among living persons, it is accounted mischief-making when one person reports to another what a third has said to his disadvantage. It is felt that the conditions of human life are such as to justify a man in often recording for his own private use, or confiding to a trusty friend, judgments concerning the character and conduct of his neighbours, to publish which would be an evil striking at the roots of all social intercourse.² And does the evil cease when the speaker

¹ Vol. ii. p. 676.

² "Quis enim unquam, qui paullum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas, offensione aliqua interposita, in medium protulit palamque recitavit; quid est aliud tollere e vita vitæ societatem quam tollere amicorum colloquia absentium? Quam multa joca solent esse in epistolis, quæ, prolata si sint, inepta videantur, quam multa seria, neque tamen ullo modo divulganda." (Cicero, *Phil.* 2.)

whose words are reported has ceased to live? Perhaps it may when several intervening generations have passed away, but it certainly does not cease so long as the memory of the departed is still fresh, and strong feelings can still be excited by disclosures of what he said or did in secret. How then can the Cardinal's biographer be excused for publishing so many letters and documents which were clearly never intended for the public eye, and were so manifestly protected by the eighth commandment?

Mr. Purcell, indeed, contends that they were meant for the public eye, having been delivered over to him either by the Cardinal himself, during his life, or after his death in accordance with his desires, and with express view to their use in the compilation of his Life. How far this supposition can be maintained we are not in a position to say. A contributor to the *Tablet*,¹ claiming to speak with authority, denies that Cardinal Manning left behind him any instructions to his executors to deliver over to Mr. Purcell the great bulk of the materials of which he has availed himself. Mr. Purcell will doubtless reply to a statement which, if true, so seriously increases his responsibility for what has happened; but there has been no time as yet for his counter-statement to appear, and we prefer therefore to rest our criticisms on his own account of the Cardinal's intentions. Even on that supposition, it is not, we would urge, presumable that Cardinal Manning could have wished all these private documents to be printed. It is much more credible that he handed them to his biographer merely that he might peruse them for himself, so as to be guided by them to a just estimation of the facts, and that he trusted to his discretion to withhold all that was unsuitable for publication. Such a procedure would have been intelligible and according to precedent, whereas it would be difficult to acquit the Cardinal of serious blame had he wished to sanction such an indiscriminate publication as has actually occurred. Many of the documents printed in the work before us are documents which he must have felt bound in honour, and even in conscience, to keep secret, and his good taste would surely have shrunk from making public the records in his diaries of all his self-searchings and self-communings. As regards his own lifetime, we know that he felt the delicacy on this last point which we should have expected of him, for on handing over the diary

¹ January 18th.

of his Lavington days—one of the few documents which he appears to have himself handed over to Mr. Purcell—he said, “The eye of no man has seen this little book. It has never passed out of my keeping.” Is it likely that he wished it to pass under the gaze of all the world so soon as he was gone?

The other serious offence in this *Life of Cardinal Manning* is its grave misrepresentation of his character. To judge from the author's declarations, in his Preface and elsewhere, he imagines that, whilst making a truthful acknowledgment of the Cardinal's defects, he has been able also to claim for him a vast preponderance of high moral qualities, and thereby to vindicate his title to retain the esteem and veneration with which he has hitherto been regarded by so many of his fellow-countrymen. Probably Mr. Purcell has already been convinced of his miscalculation by the comments of the press. One writer, and that in a very responsible review, comparing Manning and Newman as to their respective claims to a “niche in the temple of our reverence,” says of Manning, “If, indeed, we can bring ourselves to assign to one any niche in what ought to be the home of the few and the elect.” This is but one illustration out of many which might be cited to show that the general feeling produced by this book has been and will be distinctly and seriously adverse to the Cardinal's good name and reputation. And many are asking whether, in spite of his protestations to the contrary, the author has not undertaken his work in the spirit of hostility, and whether when he finishes by applying to Manning and to modern English Catholicism the couplet which the ancient Church used of St. Thomas à Becket—*Felix locus, felix ecclesia, ubi Thomæ vivit memoria*—he means us to take his statement as otherwise than ironical. Let us not be misunderstood. We believe it will come upon Mr. Purcell as a surprise that such suspicions of his motives should be entertained. But the fact that they have been, and will be, should convince him of the inconsiderateness of his action.

Of course it will be said by those hostile to the late Cardinal that, whatever may be thought of this inexplicable use of private documents, the author has at all events set before us true facts, and that if these true facts tend to divest the Cardinal of his good name, this can only be because he had no real right to bear it. We are talking, however, of the impression which the book is calculated to produce on the average reader. A reader endowed with a sound and cultivated critical faculty under-

stands very well that the propriety of a man's conduct cannot be correctly estimated from a record confined to the mere external aspects of the events in which he took part, and such a reader also understands that the true force and significance of the language of private letters may be seriously misconceived unless one is able to supplement that language by an intimate knowledge of the experiences, beliefs, and presuppositions which it implies as pre-existing in the minds of the writer and the recipient. Just on this account it is held to be objectionable to publish confidential letters; not necessarily; that is to say, because such letters may contain what the writers should be ashamed to own, but because what has been readily understood by the recipients will probably be misunderstood by outsiders, and because harm will come from the misunderstanding. It is also for this same reason that whenever, as in a biography, it becomes legitimate to publish documents not originally intended for the public eye, a duty falls on the writer who publishes them to make himself the interpreter of their true meaning, by supplying the further information without which a reader would be apt to fall into misconception. And here we touch on a fundamental defect in the *Life of Cardinal Manning*. The author has in words positively disclaimed this essential function of a biographer.

I am not the judge [he says], but simply the chronicler of events. The events recorded in his life as Anglican and as Catholic speak for themselves, and afford ample materials for the reader, without any promptings of mine, to form his own judgment. I have suppressed no facts material for the elucidation of truth or the manifestation of character; withdrawn no documents or letters, lest, in bearing witness to facts or events of his life, such letters might give offence to the timid or the weak, or to them that shun publicity as bats shun the light of day; or, still worse, practised what is called a "system of judicious suppression," out of a vain or unworthy desire of creating unduly or untruly a more favourable impression upon the general reader than was warranted by the facts.¹

No one would have wished him to "suppress" facts material for the elucidation of truth, except such as were of their own nature private and therefore not admissible as evidence in the court of public opinion, which after all is not the divinely constituted judge of all the earth. But unfortunately he has, not indeed suppressed, but omitted facts of another kind, the

¹ Vol. ii. p. 236.

record of which would have been very material for the elucidation of truth and the manifestation of the Cardinal's character, and the omission of which has distinctly tended to create a less favourable impression upon the general reader than the full facts warranted. The kind of facts thus omitted are those to which we have just been referring, and we may point by way of illustration to the omission in the second volume to give the reader anything like an adequate account of the principles at issue in the disputes between Manning and Errington, between Manning and Newman, between Opportunists and Inopportunists in the Vatican Council. For want of these, readers naturally gather that the disputes on which the writer dwells at such disproportionate length were mere petty quarrels, in which one or other of the parties was necessarily guilty of great meanness. These, however, are points which will need fuller exposition, and we must leave them to stand over for a second article. For the present, we must occupy ourselves with a still further element of defectiveness in Mr. Purcell's method.

Although disclaiming the intention to do more than chronicle events and let the original documents tell their own tale, he seldom places an original document before his readers without poisoning the wells of its language by appending some unpleasant and usually uncalled-for suggestion. Let the following instances serve as examples.

In the Preface we find summarized in a short paragraph what the writer deems to be the truth about the Cardinal's "Diaries, Journals, and Autobiographical Notes."

From the beginning a conflict or wrestling with self, as his diaries bear witness, was going on in his heart and soul—a *struggle to square God's will with his own*. The human side of his character was developed to the fullest: self-will, a despotic temper, and love of power. But the supernatural side of his character was still more strongly marked and more potent: a vivid belief in the Divine Presence, in the voice of God speaking almost audibly, to use Cardinal Manning's own words, to his soul, and in the perpetual guidance of the Holy Ghost. In the dark and crucial hour of trial his vivid faith illumined his soul, and in spite of human weaknesses or wilfulnesses, he was constrained by the grace and guidance of the Holy Ghost to submit absolutely and unreservedly to the will of God. It was the triumph in his soul of the supernatural over the natural.

The sentence in this passage which we have italicized colours the whole, and the sequel of the Life shows that its insertion

was of essential moment to the author's estimate of the Cardinal's character. Take, for instance, such a passage as the following :

In Manning nature was strong and subtle. Self-will and self-confidence, self-seeking even, *took the form or came to him under the guise, at any rate for a time, of willing and seeking the things that God willed.* In the recesses of his own mind, not out of pride of will, but from unconscious self-deception, he believed that he singly and solely knew best how to extend the work and will of God on earth ; knew what tended most to promote the designs of Providence in the government of the Church and the world.¹

If by such language the biographer means merely that Manning was always very tenacious of his own judgment as to what was right or prudent, but that, although his judgments were sometimes mistaken, he did his best to discover and to follow the will of God, and that he had always a strong sense of an overruling Providence, bestowed especially on those called to rule the Church, such an estimate might be allowed to pass. But the average reader will take the words quoted to mean that he was a man full of schemes of self-will and self-exaltation, which by a process of self-delusion he usually contrived to represent to himself, in the spirit of a religious visionary, as manifestations of the Divine will ; from which, however, on a few critical occasions, such as his conversion to the Catholic Church, he was happily rescued by "rude awakenings." And unfortunately the average reader will be confirmed in this view by Mr. Purcell's dealing with many passages of the Cardinal's career.

Manning, in his younger days, was for a while in the Colonial Office, but afterwards threw up his clerkship there in order to enter the Anglican ministry. This was in February, 1832. Fifty years later (1881), in an autobiographical note, he wrote down that he had taken this step because he had been gradually brought to feel himself called by God to devote himself to the service of souls, but that he had found it somewhat of a sacrifice to abandon the hopes he had been forming of a political career.

I do not think that any one could have a stronger desire for public life than I had when I was in the Colonial Office. I shall never forget the last time I went to the House of Commons at that date, and a

¹ Vol. i. p. 459.

meeting with one of the door-keepers who knew me well. I acknowledge at once to an ambition for public and political life—and I had read for it; so that it was not a mere ambition, but a desire to serve the public life of England. Nothing but a governing dictate of conscience which told me that I ought to give up all the world to save my own soul and to labour for the souls of others, could have made me renounce public life.¹

In another autobiographical note, written about the same time, he mentions some further details.

At this time I came to know Henry Blunt of Chelsea, and found him not only earnest but highly intelligent. He had been, I think, twelfth or fourteenth wrangler. All this made a new thought spring up in me—not to be a clergyman in the sense of my old destiny [his parents had some years before recommended the Church to him as a career, and he had refused], but to give up the world and to live for God and for souls. This grew on me daily. I had been long praying much, and going habitually to churches. It was a turning-point in my life. I wrote and asked Henry Blunt to come to me at the Colonial Office. He did so, and after a long weighing of the case, I resolved to resign, and to give myself up to the service of God and of souls. My doubt was whether God called me; and I had a great fear of going uncalled. It was as purely a call from God as all that He has given me since. It was a call *ad veritatem et ad seipsum*. As such I tested, and followed it.²

A still further detail is furnished in a letter of December 14, 1832, written to Manning by Mr. Edward Twistleton. This letter assures him that in taking the step he has "chosen the better part" and will not regret it, and he adds, "I trust that many years hence you will look back with pleasure to the day when we walked together on Waterloo Bridge, the day, I believe, when you finally determined to enter the Church."³

There is also a letter written by Manning to his brother (February 1, 1832), which Mr. Purcell quotes, and which speaks in the same sense.

All this hangs together and is very intelligible in a young man drawn by God to Himself in the morning of his years. It seems also to strike just such a key-note as we might hope to find dominating Manning's ministerial career from end to end.

But then comes forward Mr. Purcell with his unpleasant suggestion. Fastening on an expression in the above cited autobiographical note, he writes:

¹ Vol. ii. p. 685.

² Vol. i. p. 93.

³ *Ibid.* p. 92.

These are very solemn words—a statement capable of the highest spiritual signification—"Purely a call from God: a call to Truth and to Himself." At first sight, at all events, such a statement seems strange and startling. Most men, it would seem, familiar with the events of Manning's life in 1831-2, and who had read his confidential letters to John Anderdon [his brother-in-law], would naturally come to the conclusion that he took Orders, not of his own choice and will, but under force of adverse circumstances. In his numerous letters to his brother-in-law there is no allusion, not a hint even, that in giving up his passion for politics he was acting simply from spiritual motives, far less in obedience to a Divine call.¹

The counter-suggestion made is that a disappointment in love attributable to a rejection by the lady's father in view of his insufficient prospects at the Colonial Office aroused his ambitious heart to the necessity of seeking a more promising career elsewhere, and that if it was "a wrench to give up his political aspirations," it was a wrench he underwent merely because "there was no help for it, for he knew that they had no material bottom." And that if "to become a clergyman was a sacrifice," it was "a sacrifice not of his own choice, but imposed upon him by the necessity of things."²

This is just one of those comments on the part of the author which have gained for him from his numerous reviewers so many commendations for his conscientious frankness. It will be worth while therefore to inquire into its value and justice.

On what evidence he relies for the supposed connection between the interruption of Manning's love affair and his transition to the clerical state, we cannot say, as he does not indicate it. But for the suggestion that the principal motive of the change was the purely secular motive of bettering his prospects, Mr. Purcell appeals to the tenour of his letters to his brother-in-law. If he means the few letters to his brother-in-law, written nearly a year before the crisis came, they have no important bearing on the subject; if he has others in mind, why does he not transcribe them? He can find room in the two volumes for many weary letters, the contents of which would have been much better condensed; could he find no room for letters on the faith of which he ventures to set aside the Cardinal's own distinct, detailed, and emphatic reminiscence?

The omission of these important letters will seem the more remarkable to any one who turns to another Life of Cardinal

¹ Vol. i. p. 92.

² *Ibid.* p. 94.

Manning, by Dr. J. R. Gasquet, his nephew by marriage, which has just appeared. Dr. Gasquet tells us that Manning did both speak and write to his brother-in-law during the very time when Mr. Purcell finds his reticence so significant.

He first opened his mind on the subject of entering the Christian ministry to his brother-in-law, Mr. Anderdon, in the summer of 1831 [that is, after the date of the few letters to John Anderdon in 1831, which Mr. Purcell does quote], when they were turning over a sermon of Wesley's in a book-shop, where they had taken shelter from a storm of rain. On September 26th of the same year, he wrote to Mr. Anderdon a long letter which shows how deeply he was stirred by the thought of this vocation. He was filled with fear lest he should prove unworthy, and also, lest he might be the victim of self-deception, "and thus be taken in a double toil." How greatly he was moved may be judged from the conclusion of this letter: "Make it your duty to keep me straight as far as man may minister to man. Impress on me the convictions I already entertain. Study to confirm my views. Speak openly your judgment." His conception of a clerical vocation was evidently far above the ordinary ideal of the Establishment at the time. To him, it implied a life of renunciation and perfection, since he wrote to ask his friend if the words of our Lord, "Go and sell all that thou hast . . . and come follow Me," were not of binding force to him. It will be readily understood that Mr. Anderdon encouraged his resolve to devote himself, as a clergyman, unreservedly to the service of God.¹

We presume that the facts mentioned in this paragraph—facts which fully confirm the Cardinal's reminiscences on the point in question—were not known to Mr. Purcell. But if so, what are we to say of the trustworthiness of his methods of inference, which, as they fail here so egregiously, may also fail elsewhere in places where it is not as easy to detect the flaw?

Let us pass on, however, to another instance in which the flaw in the author's reasoning is very palpable indeed. A prominent element in Mr. Purcell's theory is that, particularly during the years 1843—1847, Manning was "living with eagerness in the world," and "aspiring, if the truth must be told, as it is told in his diary, for elevation to the Bench of Bishops."² The facts on which he relies for this statement are these:

On December 4, 1845, he was offered the Sub-Almoner-ship. It was an office which would bring him into near relations with the Court and would naturally lead on to

¹ *Cardinal Manning*. By J. R. Gasquet, p. 11. Catholic Truth Society.

² Vol. i. p. 330.

higher promotion. The question, we are told, "seriously disturbed his mind," and Mr. Purcell, on discovering that his letters to Robert Wilberforce after December 30, 1845, contain no references to Newman's conversion which took place in the previous October, sorrowfully remarks that "it would almost seem, at any rate as far as the expression of opinion or feeling goes, that the question of the acceptance or refusal of the Sub-Almonership to the Queen were [? was] a matter of deeper concern to Manning than Newman's conversion." It does not seem to count for much with Mr. Purcell that the letter to Robert Wilberforce of December 30 shows Manning to have been disturbed very seriously indeed by the secession of the great leader, or that so late as August of the following year he confided to Mr. Gladstone how the event had filled him with anxieties about the position of his own Church. However, let this pass, that we may consider the entries in Manning's diary which are thought to betray this undue craving after ecclesiastical elevation.

The letter offering the Sub-Almonership was received on December 4, 1845. On December 8th we find the following entry in the diary :

As to this appointment, the arguments are :

For.

Against.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. That it comes unsought. | 1. Not therefore to be accepted. Such things are trials as well as leadings. |
| 2. That it is honourable. | 2. Being what I am, ought I not therefore to decline it—
(1) As humiliation ;
(2) As revenge on myself for Lincoln's Inn ; ¹
(3) As a testimony. |
| 3. That it is an opening to usefulness. | 3. All I have is pre-engaged. |
| 4. That it may lead to more. | 4. Therefore at least for that reason not to be accepted. It is a sphere of temptation to which I am akin and have been. |

¹ Two years earlier, Manning had offered himself as candidate in the competition for a Preachership at Lincoln's Inn. He had done so with reluctance, not taking to the idea of thus putting himself forward. But his friends, Mr. Gladstone foremost among them, had overruled his scruples. They urged the desirability of his obtaining a London pulpit to enable him to make a more effective appeal to public opinion on behalf of the Anglican Church's claim to self-government. His candidature proved unsuccessful.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 5. That it has emolument. | 5. But this is dearly bought with five sacred days, and anything ethically wrong. |
| 6. That I owe it to my friends. | 6. Supposing the reasons good. |
| 7. That it is due to the Archbishop. | 7. The same. |

Now the negative reasons are :

1. That I ought not for my own, and for my flock's sake, to be absent on the feasts, especially Passion Week and Easter.
2. That I ought to keep out of temptations.
3. That I owe to myself, and to my Master, at least one denial, and I have never denied myself.
4. That Lincoln's Inn affair makes such a withdrawal right, especially in one who is perhaps too aspiring.
5. That it will be somewhat out of tone with my words and line, or might be thought so.
6. That a willingness to be preferred would perhaps* affect unfavourably some who are drawn to me because I am as I am. My work, if anywhere, is *in eremo*.
7. That anything which complicated my thoughts and position may affect the *indifference* with which I wish to resolve my mind on the great issue. Visions of a future certainly would.
8. That to keep aloof brings a man more simply and nearly to the Head of the Church—to be disposed of directly.
9. That to leave my altar at the feasts is a bad public example to the archdeaconry.
10. That the contracting new relations—(1) to the office, and (2) to the Archbishop—might make me less free to act and speak.¹

The result was that, after weighing these *pros* and *cons*, he wrote to decline the offer.

Here is a history which, left to make its own impression on a reader's mind, could hardly fail to raise his esteem for the man who, when a straight avenue to high promotion suddenly opened out to him—an avenue which most men of his age and condition would have entered as a matter of course and with self-congratulations on their good fortune—thought only of weighing the reasons on either side in the scales of the sanctuary; and who, finding them to be against taking the office, resolutely refused it. One point is especially touching. We have recounted the circumstances under which he offered himself as a candidate for the Lincoln's Inn Preachership. The candidature was quite according to custom, and was supported by the counsels of his friends. Yet, because it had been a step towards promotion

¹ Vol. i. p. 278.

volunteered by himself, he is filled with remorse at having taken it, and feels the need of some corresponding act of self-mortification to atone for it.

Now let us hear the comments with which the biographer thinks fit to characterize this really beautiful passage of interior life. To do him justice, he allows that "these confessions show a very sensitive and scrupulous conscience and a God-fearing spirit," but he is apparently much more disedified by the unhallowed ambition and self-seeking which needed so fierce a struggle to overcome them. He pronounces the self-examination (which, by-the-bye, is quite on the lines which St. Ignatius recommends in the Spiritual Exercises) to be "so minute and prolonged as to be morbid," calls it "a life-and-death struggle between ambition and self-denial," and because there are one or two subsequent references in the diary to the same subject, all in a sense confirmatory of the previous decision, he expresses a melancholy surprise that poor Manning was not "able to rid his heart of disappointment and vexation at having refused a preferment which would have made him look greater in the eyes of others."

What is so remarkable is that a writer venturing to write the Life of a man like Manning should be thus hopelessly ignorant of the workings of the human heart, of the nature of moral goodness and spiritual perfection, of the real character of the dispositions which go by the name of ambition and self-seeking. Let us seek therefore from another biographer of the late Cardinal, one already mentioned, the sort of passage which Mr. Purcell should himself have furnished to aid the reader in appraising at their true ethical value these acts of self-acknowledgment which are so plentiful in the diaries.

The only requisite to success in life which he might be thought not to have was the desire of high honour and position. One who impressed those about him as singularly self-sacrificing and devout, was unlikely to be prompted by that personal ambition without which men can seldom climb to eminence. Many persons who had no knowledge of him, and even some who might have known him better, have found no difficulty at all in answering the question they have set themselves. With a readiness born of hasty judgment and imperfect observation of human nature, they easily decided that one only motive was enough to explain all Archdeacon Manning's public life. Ambition, they say, led to the distinction of his early life at the University; ambition made him leave the Colonial Office for the Church; ambition was the mainspring of his action as a clergyman and preacher; ambition,

balked of its reward, was the cause of his leaving the Anglican body and becoming a Catholic.

Any such simple explanation of the life of so complex a being as man, stands self-condemned as entirely inadequate; but it may be at once admitted that the future Cardinal was ambitious, did well to be ambitious, and would not have been the great servant of God and man that he was, if he had not been ambitious. The truth is that ambition, as the word is now commonly used, is in itself neither a good nor a bad quality, but becomes the one or the other according to its motive and its plan of action. Every person endowed with great practical powers must be conscious of possessing them, and must strive for opportunities of exerting them. It could not be otherwise. The man of great parts who suffers them to go to waste from timidity or sloth, has had his doom pronounced in the Parable of the Unprofitable Servant, who buried in the earth the talent entrusted to him. If the consciousness of great gifts is accompanied by a humble reference of them to the Giver; if the desire to find scope for them is free from unworthy and selfish motives, or other base alloy; if the results—honours, influence, and the praise of men are valued only as means towards still greater service—then, indeed, ambition becomes one of the highest and noblest virtues.¹

If he be tried by this test, it will not be so easy to manufacture a charge against Manning of ambition, in the evil sense of the word, out of the copious materials which Mr. Purcell has put before us. When he was at Rome, prosecuting his studies at the Accademia, in the year immediately following his conversion, the popular talk, recognizing his powers, had already destined him to the episcopate. The talk naturally reached his ears, and he wrote down in his diary what Mr. Purcell calls, "the somewhat singular but candid self-revelation," but what others might more fitly call, the "very suitable and very edifying resolution." It must be remembered, however, that it was not written down with a view to publication, and that to take it as such necessarily changes its significance.

I am conscious of a desire to be in such a position (1) as I had in time past, (2) as my present circumstances imply by the acts of others, (3) as my friends think me fit for, (4) as I feel my own faculties tend to. But God being my helper, I will not seek it by the lifting up of a finger or the speaking of a word. If it is ever to be, it shall be (1) either by the invitation of superiors, or (2) by the choice of others; and then I desire to remove the final determination from my own will to that of others according to the resolution of last year.²

¹ *Cardinal Manning.* By J. R. Gasquet, p. 21.

² Vol. ii. p. 17.

This, quite in keeping with his conduct in the past so far as it is recorded, was to be the guiding principle of his Catholic life, and what evidence can Mr. Purcell find that it was not kept? It has been frequently said, as though it were a known fact, that Manning worked to obtain his own appointment to the see of Westminster. It is possible doubtless to put that construction on the part he played in the removal of Archbishop Errington, and the subject is one which from another point of view we must touch, at all events briefly, in our next article. But the reader's attention may be profitably called to Manning's answer to Mgr. Talbot, when the latter wrote to tell him there was a movement on foot to solicit his appointment.

Bayswater, March 31, 1865.

My dear Monsignor Talbot,—Canon Morris sent on your letter, and I thank you sincerely for your kind thought about me, and your fear of giving me pain [at the news that Cardinal Barnabo deprecated the idea of his appointment]. It gave me none.

If I were to say that the subject of it has not been before my mind, I should go beyond the truth; for in the last years, both in England and abroad, people have, out of kind but inconsiderate talk, introduced the subject. But if I say that I have never for a moment believed the thing to be probable, reasonable, or imaginable, I should speak the strict truth. I have therefore never, as you once said people thought, "aimed at it," or desired it. God knows I have never so much as breathed a wish to Him about it. And in all this time I have been as indifferent as if nothing were pending. I believe I may say that God knows I have lived for work and not names or promotions. If I had refused what the Holy Father has hitherto given me, men would have believed this without my saying it. But if I had refused it, I doubt if I should have done the will of God. . . .¹

These are very solemn words of asseveration. If they were not said in truthfulness, it would be hard to think too badly of the man who said them. But there is nothing in his conduct previously to the appointment which cannot be brought into easy accord with what these words declare. Surely, then, we may close this part of the subject by concluding that Mr. Purcell has been unfair and unjust in bringing against the subject of his biography so odious a charge. Or, if it is needful to add anything further, we may reflect that the best judges on a point like this are those who have lived in intimate familiarity with the Cardinal for many years, and they, while not unobservant

¹ Vol. ii. p. 209.

of the human side in his character, are unanimous in protesting that they saw in him no signs of an evil ambition. And here it may not be inappropriate to refer to the impression made on his household when he returned home from the Vatican Council in 1870, and again after the settlement of the Dock Strike in 1889. The part he had taken in those two triumphs might well have justified some feelings of self-elation. But the conspicuous absence of the manifestations of such a feeling, we are informed by one who lived with him throughout, was noticed and admired.

We propose to devote the remainder of our space to an examination into the foundations of another and still more serious indictment against the personal character of the Cardinal. Mr. Purcell is scandalized to discover that for some five years previous to his conversion the Archdeacon had the practice of speaking with a double voice.

What, I grant, is a curious difficulty, almost startling at first, is to find Manning speaking concurrently for years with a double voice. One voice proclaims in public, in sermons, charges, and tracts, and, in a tone still more absolute, to those who sought his advice in confession, *his profound and unwavering belief in the Church of England* as the Divine Witness to the Truth, appointed by Christ and guided by the Holy Spirit. The other voice, as the following confessions and documents under his own handwriting bear ample witness, speaks in almost heart-broken accents of despair *at being no longer able in conscience to defend* the teaching and position of the Church of England; whilst acknowledging at the same time, if not in his confession to Laprimaudaye, at any rate in his letters to Robert Wilberforce, the drawing he felt towards the infallible teaching of the Church of Rome.¹

A more damaging accusation than this, affecting the whole period between 1846 and 1851, could hardly have been made, and there can be no doubt that it will tend more even than anything else in the volume before us to dispose English readers against the memory of Cardinal Manning. A double-voiced man is especially odious to the English mind. Mr. Purcell has, indeed, some sort of extenuation of the imputed offence to offer. "In the trying period between 1847—51," he reminds us, "Manning's mind was in a state of transition in regard to his religious belief. . . . To see things in one light to-day, in another to-morrow, is but

¹ Vol. i. p. 463. The italics are ours. They call attention to statements which, as will be seen, go essentially beyond the facts.

natural in such a transition-state of mind. To make statements on grave matters of faith to one person or set of persons in contradiction of statements made to others, is only a still stronger proof of a sensitive mind, perplexed by doubt, losing for the time its balance."¹ Such an explanation will not go very far to remove the alleged scandal. It is true enough that a mind journeying out of error to the Catholic Faith passes through many stages, and oscillates often from one extreme to another; but this would not justify the concurrent existence of an outward voice persistently unwavering in its assurances that all was right, and an inner voice as persistently asserting that all was wrong. Nor does Mr. Purcell himself appear to be much impressed by his own apology, for he tries to supplement it by suggestions such as these: that Manning "was by nature unwilling in the extreme to confess his inability to answer a question, or solve a difficulty or doubt;" that whilst he was regarded by his Bishop and others as an accepted teacher in the Church, and as an experienced guide for penitents, "it was not in his nature to forfeit such a position;" that hence "he regarded it as a duty which he owed on the one hand to his office in the diocese, on the other to his penitents, to exalt on every public occasion the claims and defend the position of the Church of England, as a living portion of the Church of Christ;" that "those who came to him to solve their religious doubts and difficulties, found in him not a theological teacher, but a spiritual director"—and went away with "one other lesson left, as was intended, on their hearts and minds . . . that they must needs be safe in remaining in a Church which was believed in with such absolute certitude by one so holy and so wise as their spiritual director." Sentences like these abound in the author's chapters on the period of this interior conflict. Particularly too should be noticed among them passages where he relates how, in the months after Newman's conversion, that is, in the earlier part of 1845, Manning came forward to reassure the wavering.

He spoke, as one inspired, of the divine certitude of his faith in the Anglican Church. To the afflicted of heart, the troubled in conscience, to those tortured by doubt, he presented the Anglican Church, "primitive yet purified," possessed "of purities in doctrine and practice wanting in the Western Churches, whither in their impatience men had gone, seeking what was not to be found." . . . "Safe as Manning" passed almost into a proverb in that day of panic.²

¹ Vol. i. p. 464.

² *Ibid.* p. 321.

A charge so serious should at least rest on very solid foundations, but, so far as the contents of the present volumes are concerned, we cannot find that it rests on any foundation at all. The theory of the "double voice" is in fact a mere invention of Mr. Purcell's: it is the offspring of his untrustworthy methods of inference.

Mr. Purcell assumes that "the breaking down of Manning's belief in the Church of England took place so early as 1846."¹ If he means, as he clearly does, that by that early date Manning had begun to feel *doubts*, or rather *difficulties*, in regard to the status of his Church, the remark is true. There is an entry in his diary for August 6, 1846, in which he says "the Church of England seems to me diseased."

1. *Organically.*

- (1) Separation from the Church
toto orbe diffusa, and from
Cathedra Petri.
- (2) Subjection to civil power
without appeal.
- (3) Abolition of penance.
- (4) Extinction of daily sacrifice.
- (5) Loss of minor orders.
- (6) Mutilated ritual.

2. *Functionally.*

- (1) Loss of daily service.
- (2) Loss of discipline.
- (3) Loss of unity. (i.) Devotion;
(ii.) Ritual.
- (4) No education for priesthood.
- (5) Unsacerdotal life. (i.) Bishops;
(ii.) Priests.
- (6) Church effaced from popular
conscience.
- (7) Popular unbelief of mysteries.
Insensibility of invisible
world.²

There are also earlier entries in the diary for the same year, going back as far as May, manifesting in a similar manner difficulties about his own Church and acknowledging to a drawing towards Rome. But if Mr. Purcell means, as he clearly does mean, that as early as 1846, Manning had arrived at a final *conviction* that the Anglican Church was not a portion of the true Church, there is no ground either in his diaries or in his correspondence with Robert Wilberforce to justify such a statement. There is in fact no evidence of his having "broken," in that sense, with the Church in which he had been brought up until the day when he resigned his benefice, or when he went with Mr. Gladstone for the last time to an Anglican service in the little chapel off Buckingham Palace Road. That was in March, 1851. As late as the previous January, writing to a friend,³ he still speaks of "con-

¹ Vol. i. p. 487.

² *Ibid.* p. 483.

³ *Ibid.* p. 615.

viction" as not yet having come. "Nothing could ever move me from the Church of England except the conviction that it is no part of the Catholic Church. If this conviction be confirmed I see only one path."

Had Mr. Purcell himself passed through the process he would have understood it better. What has misled him is that he has missed the distinction between difficulties and doubts. A man may have difficulties about the validity of a system for a long time before he passes into doubts, and this is how Manning in set terms describes his position in his diary for July, 1846: "Yet I have no positive doubts about the Church of England. I have difficulties—but the chief thing is the *drawing* to Rome. It satisfies the whole of my intellect. . . . The English Church is an approximation." Although he does not perhaps happen again to use the terms, it is clear to any one who can read with discernment that positive doubts did not set in for long after. There were many previous stages through which his mind had first to pass. When the direct reasons came to tell almost irresistibly on the side of Rome, indirect reasons on the Anglican side could still retain their hold; and when intellectual conviction seemed attained, he could still be distrustful of his own powers, fear lest in so weighty a matter he might be deceived, and think it right to lean excessively on others. Thus on July 5th, 1847, soon after his recovery from illness, he writes in his diary: "I have just come down from the altar, having offered once more. . . . I never felt the power of love more: nor so much bound to my flock. I believe it to be of the reality of the Catholic Church. And yet it will bear no theological argument except a denial of visible unity altogether—which is self-evidently false."¹ And, as late as June 25th, 1850 he writes: "*Logically* I am convinced that the One, Holy, Visible, Infallible Church is that which has its circuit in all the world, and its centre *accidentally* in Rome. 2. But I mistrust this conclusion: (1) Because, though the *form* may be logical, the premisses may be disputable matter. (2) Because I fear to rest on *intellectual* convictions alone. . . . I scan the reasons of my convictions. And my hope is to have your help, and comfort, always to turn to."²

Such was the inner voice, now what of the outer? Its alleged variance from the inner is stated to be discoverable in

¹ Vol. i. p. 342.

² *Ibid.* p. 558. The italics are in the letter, which is to Robert Wilberforce.

his dealing with penitents, in his public action as an ecclesiastic, in certain definite statements made to Mr. Gladstone.

As regards the first, Mr. Purcell has followed a strange course. He professes to adduce evidence for the double voice as it were under Manning's "own hand and seal," and talks of numerous letters to penitents as available for the purpose. Yet he only gives the text of two such letters, and these on being examined fail altogether to support his contention. One is dated May 6, 1850,¹ the other July 14, 1850;² so both belong to the period when the long conflict was approaching its end. In both *he does distinctly refer to his own perplexities*, and gives the kind of advice which, consistently with them, he may reasonably have thought suitable for the condition of his correspondents—that is to say, he lays stress on what we have called the indirect reasons, the number of devout souls who had lived and died during three long centuries in the Anglican Church, the firm belief in her legitimacy entertained by a great majority of the holiest and wisest of his brethren who differed from him, "the uncertainty of my own mind, the certainty that God will bless and accept those who live a life of faith, love, repentance, and devotion." Until Mr. Purcell produces the text of other letters we may feel ourselves justified in anticipating that their language will be in a similar conformity with Manning's own interior mind at the time.

But possibly Mr. Purcell thinks that a man so harassed as to the lawfulness of his position, ought at once to have resigned his benefices, withdrawing from the task of guiding others until his own mind was made up. Here, however, he will hardly find Mr. Gladstone—almost a fellow-worker with him in exploring this problem of the double voice—prepared to agree with his conception of duty. When Newman was passing through a similar crisis, and had written to Manning on the subject, Mr. Gladstone, to whom his letter had been shown, writes back very earnestly to the Archdeacon, exhorting him to persuade Newman³ to keep his convictions secret for a while longer, in the hope that he may come later to renounce them.

Nor was such advice necessarily bad. When an Anglican minister is passing through such a mental process as we have in view (and it is a course which has often been traversed), the time comes at length when he is constrained to ask what may be his duty towards the numerous inquirers who are sure

¹ Vol. i. p. 473.

² *Ibid.* p. 481.

³ *Ibid.* p. 242.

to beset him. Shall he resign? Such a course would be heroic in its disregard of his temporal well-being, the more so since he might be hoping that his doubts would disappear after all; as, indeed, they have in past days, whether becomingly or unbecomingly, in the case of many who are now holding benefices, and perhaps dignities, in the Anglican Church. But would not resignation be an absolute duty, as releasing him from the impossible condition of dealing sincerely with unsettled minds? If he reflects for a moment, he may begin to realize that such a step will rather tend to precipitate him still more deeply into the difficulty. On his resignation, all who have relied upon him will at once seek to know his reasons, and he will not be able to refuse their solicitations. Thus he learns that the wisest course is to go on quietly for a while till clearer light breaks, and meanwhile deal with inquirers as best he can; that is to say, not by palming off upon them reasons which he is confident are worthless, but by suggesting such reasons as in his actual stage he deems to be really worthy of consideration. There are many passages in his diary to show how Manning felt this difficulty and was anxious to treat it rightly.¹

Nor can we find inconsistency in his public action during the five years of his interior conflict. His attitude towards his own Church during that time was one of inquiry. He had trusted and desired to continue to trust her. It was clear to him that her comportment was abnormal, and that much, very much, needed reforming, but was she not after all still a living branch of the one true Church? Whilst in this frame of mind it was only fitting that he should labour in fellowship with those of like mind to obtain for her the reforms and the measures which, on the supposition that she was the true Church, were consonant with her Divine mission. It was her persistent opposition to all these efforts to elicit from her a Catholic voice which as time went on contributed so powerfully to the disillusionment. Manning was, in fact, in his public action during that time, doing only what Newman had been doing, and experiencing only what Newman had experienced, a few years earlier. Mr. Purcell quotes with sympathy Newman's

¹ For instance, he writes to Robert Wilberforce (Feb. 12, 1848): "The grounds on which I have striven, and under God not without hope, to keep others in the Church of England, are falsified. I dare not seek or retain any influence but that of truth, and the influence over individuals which only truth has given henceforward has no foundation. It cannot either be given up, or kept by unfairness to truth which is impossible."

beautiful words in the *Parting of Friends*, and they might have been adopted by Manning :

O my mother, whence is this unto thee, that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatsoever is generous in purpose, and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no home in thy arms? Who hath put this note upon thee to have "a miscarrying womb and dry breasts," to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon with fear as though a portent, or dost loathe as though an offence—at best thou dost endure as if they had no claim upon thy patience, self-possession, and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest.

Even Manning's Hampden Charge, of which Mr. Purcell misleadingly quotes only a small portion, can be shown to be quite in accord with this conception of the proper course for a man mentally situated as the Archdeacon then was. The main portion of this Charge is concerned with the question of principle, of the State's claim to force the Church's authorities to give jurisdiction to its nominees without inquiring into their doctrinal soundness. The treatment of this portion is quite in conformity with Manning's internal state at the time. In the introduction, after claiming that each side should be credited with good intentions, he deprecates any disposition to treat Dr. Hampden publicly as a heretic, and desires to discuss his subject on impersonal lines. By transcribing a portion of this introduction, and nothing more, Mr. Purcell contrives to convey the impression that Manning was endeavouring to justify the action of the State and Church authorities in reference to the appointment. There is no foundation for such an impression.

Nor is Mr. Purcell able to point to any public word said, or action done, during this period, which can reasonably be called unconscientious, and we may, therefore, now turn to the third category in the evidence by which Mr. Purcell supports his accusation. He assures us that during this period Manning, on occasion, distinctly denied with his outer voice that he had any other feelings about the Anglican Church save feelings of entire confidence. Here we must commence by calling attention to a deplorable blunder. On p. 249, he writes : "Of this dear son [*i.e.*, Mr., afterwards Father, Lockhart], when

he was received into the Church, Manning had said to Mrs. Lockhart, 'I would rather follow a friend to the grave than hear he had taken such a step.' To this Mr. Purcell appends the remark: "So harsh a statement made to a mother, only shows Manning's supreme dread, or horror, of his own friends, or relations, or penitents, going over to Rome. . . . It was not as if he himself felt no attractions to Rome, or had no doubts and difficulties about the Church of England." All this is mixed up with an entry in Manning's diary for August 6th, 1846, which blames Mrs. Lockhart herself, not because she had herself gone over to Rome, but for some arrangements she desired to have made in consequence, which Manning thought indiscreet. The impression conveyed is that the remark about her son was made about the same time, and as Manning at that time certainly had attractions to Rome,¹ he could not, without insincerity, have spoken as he did about Mr. Lockhart. But all this apparently damaging fact disappears when we discover that Mr. Lockhart had been received exactly three years earlier. In August, 1843, Manning felt "no attraction to Rome" whatever.

Now we come to the statement made by Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Purcell which has attracted much attention. Archdeacon Manning chose Robert Wilberforce for his confidant whilst he was groping his way to the light, and he was under no obligation to make a like confidant of Mr. Gladstone. Probably he felt that the latter would, in spite of his friendship, not be able to meet him with the degree of sympathy and forbearance which he needed. When at length, in 1850, he did broach the subject to him, we see from the answer received how impossible it was for the latter to repress his intolerance of opposition. Still, if Manning was not bound to use Mr. Gladstone as a confidant, he was bound not to tell him a downright untruth, and yet this is what Mr. Purcell, though with pain, infers that he must have done.

On learning, in January last, the substance of Manning's letters to Robert Wilberforce, Mr. Gladstone was surprised beyond measure. Speaking with evident pain, he said: "To me this is most startling information, for which I am quite unprepared. In all our correspondence and conversations, during an intimacy which existed over many years, Manning never once led me to believe that he had doubts as to the position or Divine authority of the English Church, far less that he had lost faith altogether in Anglicanism. That is to say, up

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 170. Entry in diary, also on August 6, 1846.

to the Gorham Judgment. The Gorham Judgment, I know, shook his faith in the Church of England. It was then that Manning expressed to me—and for the first time—his doubts and misgivings." After a few moments' reflection, Mr. Gladstone added, "I won't say Manning was insincere, God forbid! But he was not simple and straightforward, as, for instance, Robert Wilberforce, the most simple and candid of men."¹

This is Mr. Gladstone's recollection, and, we confess, it surprises us. Has Mr. Gladstone, in all his public career, never felt the hardship of being credited with a want of straightforwardness by the class of persons who draw crude inferences from a purely external juxtaposition of apparent opposites in a man's words and conduct? Perhaps, however, Mr. Purcell has unconsciously coloured the report of what Mr. Gladstone said. But we are forgetting. Weight, it is suggested, is added to Mr. Gladstone's recollection by the fact of Cardinal Manning having recently destroyed all the letters written by himself to Mr. Gladstone during his Anglican days, "because," as he told Mr. Purcell, "he did not think, for various reasons, their publication would be expedient." The insinuation is, that the Cardinal destroyed them expressly in the fear lest, if published, they should bring to light the insincerity of this "double voice," of which, therefore, he must have been conscious. But surely such an insinuation should not have been made until every other possible cause of suppression had been conclusively eliminated. As it is, Mr. Purcell hardly supplies evidence enough to prove that these letters were suppressed at all, and not merely refused to himself; for he apparently got very little material directly from Cardinal Manning.

To return, then, to Mr. Gladstone's recollection, which he also supplemented thus:

I remember, as it were yesterday, a remarkable conversation I had with him in the summer of 1848, just after his return from Rome. We were walking together through St. James's Park, talking on serious subjects, . . . but, on this occasion, referring to his illness of the previous year, Manning said in the most solemn manner, "Dying men, or men within the shadow of death, as I was last year, have a clearer insight into things unseen of others, *i.e.*, deeper knowledge of all that relates to Divine faith. In such a communion with death, and the regions beyond death, I had an absolute assurance of heart and soul, solemn beyond expression, that the English Church—I am not speaking of the Establishment—is a living portion of the Church of Christ."²

¹ Vol. i. p. 569.

² *Ibid.* p. 570.

This is Mr. Gladstone's recollection ; but is it accurate? In one respect it is certainly not accurate. He is very positive that Manning had never given a hint of his having had doubts until the time of the Gorham Judgment. And yet, it seems, that he had received a letter from Manning, dated August, 1846—the very month which saw an entry in the same sense in the private diary¹—and containing these words: "I have a fear, amounting to a belief, that the Church of England must split asunder." The words, to judge from his reply, which Mr. Purcell gives, made a deep impression on Mr. Gladstone, so that it is curious he should have so completely forgotten them, and still more curious that he should never afterwards have desired to know if Manning was still of the same mind as on that occasion. For another reason too it does not seem quite certain that Mr. Gladstone's recollections have not failed him to some extent. According to Mr. Purcell, Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to Bishop Wilberforce, dated September 5, 1850, states that from conversations held and letters exchanged between himself and Manning, an impression was created in his mind that "up to the Gorham Judgment the Archdeacon *was convinced of the authority of the (Anglican) Church, and believed in her mission, though he could not disguise from himself that there were things in the Roman Church which he preferred.*"² The sentence italicized refers to opinions which Mr. Gladstone was aware that Manning entertained *before* the Gorham Judgment, and the entire statement is quite consistent with what Mr. Gladstone assures us he was told in 1848 in St. James's Park. For it implies that the remark made in St. James's Park was not such an absolute profession of confidence in the Anglican Church as Mr. Gladstone's present recollections would suggest.

In other words, the statement made in St. James's Park does not necessarily mean more than this—"He (Manning) felt that there were many difficulties which caused him great perplexity, and satisfied him that the Anglican Church was at all events in a most abnormal state. Yet in spite of all he felt confident that she was still a living member of the Church of Christ, and he attached the more importance to this feeling of confidence, because it had been so strong with him when he was on the confines of the grave." Such language is quite in harmony with

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 170.

² Vol. i. p. 567. Cf. *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. p. 48.

the language of the private diary.¹ At the same time we must remember that when in 1850 Gladstone taxed Manning with his words in the Park two years previously, Manning disputed the accuracy of Mr. Gladstone's version.²

One circumstance more in reference to this whole question of Archdeacon Manning's alleged double voice and Mr. Gladstone's consequent ignorance of his interior state of mind, needs at least to be indicated. Mr. Reginald Wilberforce, in his biography of his father, speaks³ of a whole series of letters written by Manning to Bishop Wilberforce during the period in question, which "clearly prove" that Manning's difficulties about Anglicanism had their root in his views on unity held so far back as 1841, as also that his difficulties had "strengthened year by year, and each year had found him further removed from the living English Church." If Bishop Wilberforce knew of all this, it is curious he should never have discussed it with his friend Mr. Gladstone, and at all events it becomes the less probable that Cardinal Manning had the malign intention imputed to him when he suppressed his own letters to Gladstone, after they had been restored into his hand.⁴

Here we must terminate the present article. We had originally intended to deal first with the later portion of the Cardinal's life, as of more immediate interest. But on re-consideration it appeared impossible to discuss effectively the part taken by Manning in the complicated events of his

¹ For example, *Life of Newman*, p. 171, and *Life of Manning*, p. 464.

² Vol. i. p. 581. ³ P. 49.

⁴ Another recollection of Mr. Gladstone's is, that at some date not given, he had mentioned a difficulty he found in assigning the common bond of union which had led so many, of such opposite characters and surroundings, to come to one and the same conclusion, that they must secede to Rome. Manning's answer, which, he says, startled him much, was, "Their common bond is their want of truth." Mr. Gladstone says, he "advisedly withheld this story during the Cardinal's lifetime," although "unadvisedly" would surely have been the more appropriate word. Of such a story, we can only say that if it refers to the first few months after Newman's conversion, the time during which Manning acknowledges he was thrown back by it, possibly it may be true. If it is referred to a later date, we must take leave to disbelieve in the accuracy of Mr. Gladstone's memory, for we cannot make it fit in with the many other facts which are recorded in Mr. Purcell's *Life*, and have been discussed in this article. Were it lawful to surmise that by a failure of memory Mr. Gladstone had inverted the respective parts taken by himself and Manning, that Manning had stated the difficulty and Mr. Gladstone had suggested the cause, the story would fit in very well indeed with the other facts, for instance with the letter of October 28, 1843, in which Mr. Gladstone in his haste describes Newman's language, when he began to show signs of moving, as "like the expressions of some Faust, gambling with his soul." (Vol. i. p. 243.)

later life so long as the wells remained poisoned by the damaging criticism to which his character for humility and uprightness had been subjected in the earlier volume. This previous duty of extracting the poison we trust to have fulfilled sufficiently to induce the readers to reconsider any harsh judgments into which Mr. Purcell may have previously led them. But the consequent necessity of examining with some minuteness the documents touching on these two points has rendered it impossible to take note of other features in Manning's character. Perhaps we may be pardoned an omission which there will be so many within the next few months to supply. One thing, however, at least we will permit ourselves to say. Whatever stress, according to their different proclivities, they may find it necessary to lay on the human side in Cardinal Manning's character, those who can combine discernment with candour will readily acknowledge that the good far outbalanced the defective, that he was, in short, great in his virtues as well as in his talents, and is fully entitled to our esteem and respect.

the first of these is the fact that the county of Kent is one of the most fertile in England, and the second is the fact that it is one of the most populous. The third is the fact that it is one of the most important in the south of England, and the fourth is the fact that it is one of the most beautiful. The fifth is the fact that it is one of the most ancient, and the sixth is the fact that it is one of the most interesting. The seventh is the fact that it is one of the most important in the south of England, and the eighth is the fact that it is one of the most beautiful. The ninth is the fact that it is one of the most ancient, and the tenth is the fact that it is one of the most interesting.

The county of Kent is one of the most fertile in England, and it is one of the most populous. It is one of the most important in the south of England, and it is one of the most beautiful. It is one of the most ancient, and it is one of the most interesting.

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The Life of Cardinal Manning.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Life of Cardinal Manning.

SECOND ARTICLE.

DURING the past month we have had a public statement from the executors, and two rebutting statements from Mr. Purcell, to assist us in estimating the propriety of the use made by Mr. Purcell of Cardinal Manning's private papers. It would be out of place for an outsider to intervene in this dispute, but it may not be out of place for an independent observer to assure Mr. Purcell that, whatever may have been the success of his unchastened language in "catching" (if we may borrow his own picturesque expression) "the cheap applause of the groundlings," it can hardly have improved his position in the eyes of those accustomed to sift evidence. He abuses the executors for treating him as having claimed to hold the papers in virtue of a testamentary disposition, yet his words—"have passed into my possession in accordance with his wish and *will*"—were unquestionably calculated to suggest, whether intentionally or not, such a title to possession. He proves at great length that the executors, yielding to his representations, acknowledged him to have received from the Cardinal some sort of authorization to write his *Life*, although that is a point which the executors themselves had unreservedly conceded in the very letter he was rebutting. He proves, likewise at great length, that the Cardinal had, in his later years, written Autobiographical Notes, and left useful directions for the guidance of his "future biographer;" but this also had not been denied, and, indeed, had even been independently affirmed by Cardinal Vaughan,¹ who, it seems, himself suggested to his predecessor that notes of this sort, and for this purpose, should be written.

On the other hand, what we all do wish to learn from Mr. Purcell he has not vouchsafed to tell us. For we want to know the grounds on which he was able to satisfy the executors that he was authorized to write not merely a *Life*, but the kind

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1896.

of Life he has in fact compiled. The executors tell us that, when giving him permission to use their papers, they never dreamt of such a use as that to which they have actually been put; and it does really look as if they had been captured by his representations through failure to observe an important distinction. It surely does not follow, merely because Cardinal Manning left autobiographical notes and directions for the use of his "future biographer," that Mr. Purcell himself was the future biographer he had in view; and, quite apart from Mr. Purcell's personality, it is antecedently improbable that the Cardinal had in view any biographer at all who should undertake a task of such delicacy within a few years after his death. The term "biography" can be made to include two entirely distinct species of composition. There is the biographical sketch, accurate but impressionist in its nature, which is appropriately published as soon as possible after a public man's death, to gratify the interest felt in his career by the generation that knew him personally; and there is the more solid and exhaustive composition, based on the record of private as well as public documents and transactions, which the requirements of Christian charity, as well as of judicial impartiality, relegate to a much more distant date. Now we are prepared to believe without difficulty that Cardinal Manning permitted and assisted Mr. Purcell, or even authorized him, to write a biography of the former kind, but ampler evidence is required to satisfy us that the permission or authorization extended to one of the latter; and this ampler evidence is just what Mr. Purcell's letters to the *Times* have so far failed to supply.

In this connection, too, Mr. Purcell's attention may not unprofitably be directed to a curious discrepancy between his own earlier and later declarations. In the Preface to his first volume, he tells us that Manning placed in his hands his "earliest diary, written in his Lavington days," and said "the eye of no man has seen this little book. It has never before passed out of my keeping." More minutely describing this diary, Mr. Purcell goes on to speak of it as "this diary in which are recorded his innermost thoughts, his sorrows of heart, his loneliness at Lavington, his confessions, his trials and temptations." The diary to which alone these words correspond, is the diary of 1844—47, contained in the White Book, particularly the portions of it relating to the offer of the sub-almonership in 1845 and to his illness in the earlier part of 1847. Mr. Purcell

gives copious extracts from its pages in the thirteenth and sixteenth chapters of his first volume, and these extracts "contain matter so sacred, so secret, so personal" as to fill us with astonishment at the notion of a man of good taste and great reserve sanctioning their publication. Indeed it is on the peculiarly private character of the entries in this diary of 1844—47 that the strength of Mr. Purcell's defence against his accusers chiefly rests. If Manning could consent to the publication of this diary of 1844—47, and show that he did so by handing it over precisely for that purpose to Mr. Purcell, why should there be reluctance to admit that he would have approved the publication of nearly all else which is in Mr. Purcell's biography?

And yet when we turn from Mr. Purcell's Preface in the biography to his article in the *Dublin Review* (April, 1892), we find that it was not the diary of 1844—47, but the diary of 1847—48, which was handed to him with the impressive remark that no eye save the author's had previously seen it. Here are Mr. Purcell's own words in 1892 :

His private diary, kept whilst he was at Rome during the revolutionary year 1847—48, which, as the Cardinal told me, had been seen by no eye but his, had never passed out of his hands, was placed in mine, to make what use of I liked. It is most invaluable as throwing light upon his mind at a critical moment, and as recording the impressions which the Catholic system and worship in foreign lands and at Rome produced, especially when contrasted with the Anglican system at home.

This Roman Diary is a very different sort of diary from that in the White Book. Manning, according to Mr. Purcell, said of it : "It will be as hard to get interest out of my Roman Diary, as to get sunshine out of a cucumber."¹ Such a criticism does it scant justice, for it is full of interest. But its entries, to judge from the copious extracts in Mr. Purcell's seventeenth chapter, relate exclusively to external events. They contain only conversations, observations, and impressions, touching what he saw or heard during a visit to Rome. They contain nothing, unless in the excised passages, which there could be any impropriety in making public. This diary is in fact just the sort of document which we can imagine Manning putting into Mr. Purcell's hands, if the understanding between them was that the biography he was to write should be confined to the

¹ I. p. 314.

more external aspects of Manning's life; and that such was indeed the understanding is what Mr Purcell in the same article—in sharp contrast with his contention in the biography itself and in the letters to the *Times*—told us explicitly in these words :

In regard to the nature and extent of the Cardinal's assistance, *it was to be limited*, as understood from the first, *to the public life* ; to the growth and character of his religious principles ; to his personal relations with his contemporaries ; to the conflicts and controversies of the day ; and to the prolonged struggle, in which he took a leading part, to secure the independence of the Church as a Divine witness to the faith. [Such facts and circumstances within his own knowledge as threw light on contemporary events were placed at my disposal as material to work upon, to be examined with critical care, to be accepted or rejected, wholly or in part, according to the weight of evidence. Of this liberty I have availed myself to the full. All *documents, records, diaries, and letters, in so far as they were connected with events in his life, the Cardinal permitted me to read, to transcribe, or to take note of.*] His private diary kept while he was at Rome. . . .

The latter portion of this extract, marked here by the square brackets, was quoted in the second of Mr. Purcell's recent letters to the *Times*. The executors had recognized that Manning gave him special help, "in fact acted as you have described in what you have already published," and Mr. Purcell, in the *Times*, claimed that the statement referred to, "as already published," was the above bracketed passage, arguing thence, and particularly from the clause we have italicized, that the executors knew the Cardinal had given him access to the various "documents, records, diaries, and letters," "which they now pretend to regard as private letters and documents." Had Mr. Purcell found space enough in the *Times* to insert the former (unbracketed), half of the above statement, which gives the key to the meaning of the latter half, possibly the readers of the *Times* might have thought it not impossible that the executors had understood the "documents, records, diaries, letters," to which Mr. Purcell was given access, to be only such "documents, records, diaries, letters," or at all events only such extracts from them, as were of a more public nature. And had the *Times'* readers been enabled to read through the article in the *Dublin Review*, they might have been confirmed in that surmise, for there is not a trace in it from beginning to end of any acquaintance with the private and confidential documents,

the publication of which in the biography has given reasonable offence to so many people, from Dr. Rigg downwards.¹

In short, it seems clear from a comparison of Mr. Purcell's earlier and later declarations, that during the interval, his memory has played him a strange trick, causing him now to understand what he formerly knew to have been said and done in reference to one set of documents as if it had been said and done in reference to another set of which he only subsequently came to hear. Into the psychology of this curious phenomenon we need not inquire. It is after all not as wonderful as that George IV. should have fancied himself an old Waterloo hero. Still it must be regarded as unfortunate that one who had been thus victimized by his own memory, should be so facile in accusations of "disingenuousness" against others.²

Thus much we have felt it desirable to say on the question of Mr. Purcell's authorization, not on behalf of the executors, for whom we hold no brief, but from the standpoint of external critics in a matter of public interest. We are not forgetting, however, what was acknowledged in our former article, that whether rightly or wrongly all these private documents have in fact been published, and that the question of far more consequence than Mr. Purcell's shortcomings, is whether the reputation of the great prelate so lately deceased deserves to suffer from his revelations. To this latter question, then, we now return.

In the previous article we inquired into the justice of two serious charges against Manning's character, made by Mr. Purcell and based principally on certain facts in the Anglican portion of the *Life*—the charge of ambition, and the charge of double-dealing. It was of vital consequence to determine from the outset if these charges were well-founded, because in gauging the moral quality of Manning's action as a Catholic and as a prelate, in the many difficult and delicate transactions in which he was engaged, our judgment must be mainly influenced by the estimate we form of the motives which inspired him ;

¹ Did Mr. Purcell, we wonder, neglect to ask leave to publish their letters from the writers in other cases as well as in Dr. Rigg's? We happen to know he neglected it in one other case, and cannot help suspecting that he never asked Cardinal Vaughan's leave, or that of the executors of Cardinal Newman.

² Since the Cardinal left no provision in his will in reference to Mr. Purcell, the executors, by allowing him the use of these documents, must have practically written him a cheque for two or three thousand pounds. Surely, out of gratitude for so unusual a gift, he might have been a little more considerate of their good name.

because, in other words, the motives underlying his various writings and actions cannot be decisively gathered by inference from these writings and actions themselves, but must rather be read into them from the results of knowledge otherwise obtained. Had we then been compelled with Mr. Purcell to take over from a study of his first volume a conviction that Manning was a man inclined to play for his own hand, and to be unscrupulous in the choice of means, it might have been hard to reject his biographer's unfavourable construction of so much in his after-life and conduct. As, however, we have been able to satisfy ourselves that the two serious charges in question rest only on inferences of astounding unfairness from facts which point rather to a resolute suppression of all projects of personal aggrandizement and an anxious care to act in all things with a delicate conscientiousness,¹ we can now pass to a study of Manning's Catholic life, in the hope, or rather in the expectation, that its several phases, even when they may not be proof against all censure, will still yield themselves to an interpretation consonant with the aims and endeavours of a man of high character. In this light let us consider the history of the dispute between Wiseman and his suffragans, the Errington controversy, and the unfortunate variance between Manning and Newman. It is particularly in connection with these three episodes that Mr. Purcell has sinned against the respect due to confidential intercourse, and it is from the private letters thus improperly made public that Cardinal Manning's reputation has seemed most to suffer.

It will be better, however, instead of discussing with wearisome detail the many passages of his Catholic life which have seemed to bear a disedifying sense, to lay down in the first place certain facts and principles which, if borne in mind, will supply a key of interpretation such as the reader himself can

¹ In the former article attention was called to Dr. Gasquet's *Cardinal Manning*, as testifying that Manning in his correspondence with his brother-in-law, Mr. John Anderdon—contrary to what Mr. Purcell had confidently stated—spoke of his reasons for desiring to enter the Anglican ministry precisely as he gives them in his own later Reminiscences. We argued from a letter written to Mr. John Anderdon, the contents of which Dr. Gasquet summarizes. We have since learnt from Dr. Gasquet that there is still in the possession of Manning's relatives a book which at the time in question used to pass backwards and forwards between the brothers-in-law, a sort of manifestation of conscience book, in which they made entries by turn, and which in the proper place affords abundant evidence that the reasons which led Manning to take Anglican Orders were purely spiritual. Naturally such a book is too private in its character to permit of publication,

apply. After this a very few further words will be needed to indicate the path which the application should take. In this sense, we commence by calling attention to one or two further points in Manning's personal character.

His intellectual gifts were of a high order, and they had been carefully cultivated. Mr. Purcell is fond of speaking of him as one whose reading had not been extensive, but Dr. Gasquet is perhaps more correct when he says that "any one acting on such an assumption would have probably paid for his rash mistake." At Lavington he seems to have been a very assiduous reader, and, if the engrossing occupations of his archiepiscopal life did not permit of the same studious leisure, there is plenty of evidence that he used his opportunities so far as he had them. "By spending his evenings at home," says his nephew, "he managed to find time for a good deal of miscellaneous reading, as well as for the enormous number of letters he wrote. He saw almost all the principal books; and although a glance at many was sufficient, he read others with care and interest."¹ Still it was doubtless a misfortune to him that he should have had so short a theological course to prepare him for his priestly work. That he should suffer somewhat from this inadequacy of study—where too the subject-matter was of a kind which peculiarly requires the long and searching discipline of a scholastic course under the guidance of the living voice—was almost inevitable, and we may perhaps find occasional inaccuracies and a curious misconception or so in his writings and opinions, which are traceable to this source. Nevertheless, on the whole the marvel is that he should so correctly have caught the purport and spirit of Catholic theology, and that he should so readily have assimilated the tone of Catholic life.

As a set-off against these intellectual gifts, there was in him what it would be excessive perhaps to call intellectual one-sidedness, but at all events a certain absorption in the point of view belonging to his position, which rendered him for the time singularly incapable of entering into the motives and difficulties of the other side. Of course he could fall under the influences of reasons leading him to abandon or modify a previous position—as when from an Anglican he became a Catholic, or as when in later life he inclined to some sort of *rapprochement* between the Papacy and the Italian Government. But as long as he adhered to any

particular position he was not easily able to feel sympathy with the action of those in antagonism to it. For instance, in the early days of his Catholic life it was noticed in him that, notwithstanding the long and anxious course of his own careful inquiries, he seemed unable to realize how other inquirers could conscientiously hesitate to seek admission into the Church without delay. With time, indeed, he had learnt to take truer views, and Father Humphrey, who was received into the Church in 1868, has related how the Archbishop then asked him about his previous dispositions, and on hearing that he was not conscious of having at any time resisted the light, replied: "I have heard of parsons who were said to be living in bad faith, but I have never yet met with one of them of whom I was certain that he was not in what seemed to him to be good faith."¹ Clearly what had happened was that Manning had been collecting testimonies and had become convinced by them that what he found so hard to understand was at all events the fact. We may set it down as a further illustration of the same gradual realization of a fact in itself difficult for him to comprehend, that in his last days he grew to sympathize so largely with the good intentions with which he credited religious movements like the Salvation Army.

Out of this want of power to enter into the intellectual difficulties of other minds, arose the tendency to misapprehend the grades of difference in the attitudes adopted by those to whom he was opposed, and along with this misapprehension an incapacity to do justice to the motives of their opposition. To this source also must be ascribed the autocratic manner which was so marked, and was sometimes so annoying to those who had dealings with him. But here again, though the natural tendency remained in him, he could come with the course of time to rectify more or less his previous estimates.

We have indicated these mental defects because they seem to us to explain some features in the course of his actions in the conflicts on which Mr. Purcell has laid so disproportionate a stress. We must not, however, although only preparing the way for a juster criticism of his part in these disputes, and by no means seeking to give a complete analysis of Manning's character, omit to mention at least briefly the characteristics which chiefly attracted towards him so much esteem and affection. If his heart was not open to all, there were those

¹ *Recollections of Scottish Episcopalianism*, p. 44. Thomas Baker, Soho Square.

to whom it was opened wide, and who testify to its largeness. He felt deeply and displayed much affection towards certain of his relations, towards his personal friends, and towards those who came to him in physical, or moral, if not so much towards those in intellectual, distress. There are several letters in Mr. Purcell's volume which testify to his attachment to his brothers and sisters, and the strange calumnies which Mr. Purcell has thought fit to insinuate as regards his feelings towards the memory of his wife have been already effectually dispelled. It was because this memory was so precious to him that he guarded it with so rigid a silence; and here perhaps it may be of use to suggest whether a certain well-known story which Mr. Purcell has repeated, has been correctly appreciated. Some one had jokingly said, "The greatest misfortune the Catholic Church in England has sustained was the death of the late Mrs. Manning." This was reported to the Archbishop by some mischief-makers, and his indignation on learning it has been set down to pettiness of spirit. May it not rather be that his sensitiveness was wounded to the quick by the liberty, unwittingly of course, taken with a memory so precious to him? His intense love for Robert Wilberforce is transparent in the many letters interchanged between them, and it is well known that he cherished a strong affection for the present Cardinal. Lord Wolseley has expressed the judgment of a more external circle of his friends, saying of him that "he had a big heart, full of human sympathy and heavenly goodness," and adding that, a Protestant himself, "he always felt it a privilege to be in his company."

What impression he made upon the poor, the poor of England generally, not the Catholic poor only—whose tendency is so much to mete out esteem or blame to a man of position according as they recognize him to have a heart or not, rather than in view of any other qualities—was clearly manifested in the faces of the vast numbers who lined the streets throughout the entire length of the course whilst his body was being borne to the grave, or who in the preceding days had passed in never-ceasing file through the room where it lay in state. No one who witnessed the unparalleled spectacle could think that these multitudes had come as sight-seers. They had come without distinction of creed, to pay a tribute of sorrowing affection to the memory of one whom they had felt to be their friend.

Another point which needs to be emphasized is the high ideal of life which Cardinal Manning strove to pursue himself and to set before others. Cardinal Vaughan, whose relations with him were of such long standing and so intimate, says :

Of all the men I have known, none ever appeared to me so completely absorbed in the idea of aiming at what was highest, noblest, purest. It was a sustained yearning after the true and the good, and this without effort because it had grown to be the bent and tendency of his life. He lived for God and for souls. Every other aim and effort fell into the background with the defects and imperfections and the errors of judgment that are incident to many of the noblest specimens of our humanity.¹

Particularly was he always earnestly striving to infuse his own high ideal of the priesthood and its requirements into the minds and hearts of his clergy, trusting through their instrumentality to raise the spiritual tone of the faithful generally. Frequently we have heard it said by his priests after an interview with him or a retreat from him, "He just does make you feel the duty of aspiring after a high standard," and this anxiety is the key-note of some of his books, and notably of that on the *Eternal Priesthood*—a book not to be under-valued merely because we may detect in it a passage or two betraying misconception of the character and aims of the "religious" life.

Such was the man destined to exercise so important an influence on English Catholic life during the half-century immediately following the Restoration of the Hierarchy. Wiseman, on his reception, at once realized his worth. That his talents might begin to fructify at once, he raised him to the priesthood when as yet he had not been ten weeks a Catholic. He was received on March 26, 1851, and ordained priest on June 14th of the same year. When the ceremony was over, the Cardinal embracing him said, "I look upon you as one of the first-fruits of the Restoration of the Hierarchy by our Holy Father Pius IX. Go forth, my son, and bring your brethren and fellow-countrymen by thousands and ten thousands into the One, True Church of Christ"—an anticipation, the fulfilment of which, though it fell far short of the letter, may truly be called abundant. After six months of work in England, he was sent to Rome for a course of theological studies, and on his arrival he received from Pius IX. a blessing similar to that imparted to him by Cardinal Wiseman. Pius IX. also enjoined that he

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1896.

should attach himself to the Accademia, that "nursery of Cardinals," as it has been called. Here he remained studying till the spring of 1854, the stay, however, being seriously interrupted by two summer absences in England of six months each. The result was that his period of study was practically limited to a year and a half, for by that time the impatience of Cardinal Wiseman to have him back overcame his own desires and those of Pius IX. for a more prolonged course. Still he was able during this year and a half to become thoroughly versed in Roman ways, and animated with the Roman spirit, as also to contract a close personal friendship with Pius IX., who used to see him in private audience about once a month. On returning to England, he was invited by the Fathers to say his Mass and use a confessional at Farm Street. From this centre he laboured with great zeal, becoming very popular and useful as a confessor and a preacher, and enjoying the consolation of receiving many persons into the Church. In 1856 his connection with Farm Street ceased, and he transferred the scene of his labours to Westminster, where he founded the Church of St. Peter and St. Edward.

Very soon, however, he was called to undertake work affording a wider scope for his talents. Cardinal Wiseman was anxious for a body of priests who might aid the parochial clergy in evangelizing the poor. He desired that they should give congregational missions, work for the establishment of new parishes in neglected districts, form and administer Perseverance Classes for the young who had left school, take the charge of convents and charitable institutions, and such-like supplementary labours. It seems that his applications to the religious communities at that time in the diocese had been unsuccessful, and the letter, printed at the commencement of Mr. Purcell's second volume, in which the Cardinal gives expression to his disappointment, is not only very touching, but witnesses to the large-mindedness of the man to whom the destinies of our restored Hierarchy were first entrusted. Though unable to understand the grounds on which his applications were declined by the communities, he was prepared to believe that circumstances and the nature of their respective rules might justify their refusal. Possibly they were somewhat too wooden in responding to his earnest cry, but their resources at the time were very slender, and it cannot at all events in these days be urged as a reproach against them that their assistance is not

both proffered and accepted with rich results in all parts of the kingdom.

This is perhaps digression, but it is useful as explaining why the Oblates of St. Charles were introduced into London. Cardinal Wiseman thought of this Congregation as likely to be of use in supplying the need, and Manning was commissioned to take the steps necessary to establish it. The Papal blessing was cordially given, and on Whit Sunday, 1857, the members of the infant Congregation took up their abode in a hired house at Sutherland Place, Bayswater. Here was important occupation to engage Manning's principal cares during the next few years. In 1857 he was made Provost of the Chapter of Westminster by Papal appointment, and having been selected by Wiseman to be his Procurator at Rome for the transaction of some very delicate business which would bring him into relations and sometimes into conflict with persons of episcopal rank, he was at Wiseman's solicitations made a Proto-Notary Apostolic in 1859. In view of Mr. Purcell's theory of Manning's personal ambition, it should be noticed that both these dignities were conferred upon him without his having expected or suspected what was coming; also that his acceptance of both was reluctant and only in deference to the authority whence they came.

If to the mention of these few facts we add that Wiseman, whose health began to fail in the latter end of the fifties, relied much on the counsels and administrative skill of the still new convert, we can appreciate the importance of the position which Manning then held; and this is of consequence, that we may be enabled to judge how far his part in the transactions we have to consider should be ascribed either to the necessary fulfilment of his duties, or to an unwarrantable intrusion into a province not his own.

The period covered by the first ten or twenty years after the restoration of the Hierarchy was a period of crisis and anxiety for the future destinies of English Catholicism. We are not referring so much at the moment to the fears coming from without, from the fierce spirit aroused by the assumption of territorial titles, but to the clash of opposing tendencies within the Church herself. The Church was coming forth from her retirement, and one result was to accentuate ideas not altogether in harmony. There were those who had caught the tone of the great Catholic revival on the Continent, and were

anxious to bring into prominence the specially unpopular features of Catholic life and worship which during the days of persecution English Catholics had become accustomed to hide, to apologize for, almost to be ashamed of.¹ There were those, on the other hand, who belonged to the old school, had grown attached to ways which only adverse circumstances had at first constrained them to adopt, and had learned to regard them as illustrations of English good sense as against foreign extravagance. Then there was the distinction between the converts then entering in great numbers, the hereditary English Catholics, and the great Irish immigration started by the famine of 1846. Here were three streams, each representing a difference of habits and of education, the confluence of which necessarily occasioned some confusion and effervescence. Also, as a result partly of the influx of converts so many of whom were men of culture, partly from other and more general causes, there was arising in the hearts of many a feeling of dissatisfaction with the insufficient character and apparatus of Catholic education. Such a feeling in itself might not seem much calculated to arouse opposition, but the advocacy of improved education involved questions of the danger to faith, serious or not, of seeking it at Protestant sources. Then, again, there were two parties side by side differing in their treatment of theological questions: one, a party whose motto was, *Sentire cum ecclesia*, that is, to regulate their judgment and opinion not merely by the letter of doctrinal decisions of unquestioned authority, but by the traditional tone of Catholic thought and feeling, and even by the ideas which found personal favour with the reigning Pope; the other, a party which, whilst Catholic in regard to the substance of the faith, was impressed by the conclusions of modern thought on certain subjects bordering on science or politics, and in consequence inclined to set down as antiquated the traditional opinions which modern thought condemned, and to resent as intrusion into a domain outside its competence, whatever action of Church authority proscribed their pet theories.

Another class of forces which, though on the whole tending to co-operate harmoniously, contained within themselves a

¹ Statues of our Blessed Lady or the Saints were quite unknown in churches. The Rosary and the Litany of Loreto were considered very extreme, as also were Benediction and Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Even the use of incense was deprecated by many, and there was a disposition to restrict Papal interference in the affairs of the country. These are specimens of what is referred to in the text.

proneness to decline into occasional opposition, were those begotten of the new practical arrangements introduced with the Hierarchy. The subdivision of the larger areas into diocesan districts entailed the division also of the trust funds which had belonged to the ancient Vicariates. The principles and proportions according to which the new allocations should be made must obviously have raised many delicate questions in which the guardians of the different interests might easily take different views. What, again, were the respective rights and duties which should subsist between the Metropolitan and his suffragans, between a Bishop and his Chapter?

When the existence at that period of these various elements of dissension is borne in mind; when it is remembered how in varying proportions they entered into the mental composition of individuals and classes, creating numerous gradations of personal attitude to the momentous issues of the time; when it is remembered that, whereas all men have their characters, those called by their qualifications to influential posts have usually characters strongly marked and liable in the conflict to rub roughly one against another; it will not be difficult to understand that at the time when Manning was brought by the course of events to take a prominent part in Church administration, the outbreak of some serious disputes was inevitable.

Nor does the existence of such disputes among Catholics—as, by a natural result of Mr. Purcell's defective mode of treatment and misleading remarks, has been assumed—involve any reflection on the claim to Unity which is so impressive a note of the Catholic Church. So far as concerns this latter point, it would be truer to say that conflicts among Catholics such as Mr. Purcell is so fond of relating, are an actual demonstration of the Unity of the Church. For if they illustrate the natural disposition to disagree which characterizes Catholics not less than other men, they witness also to the Divine gift of faith which characterizes Catholics as distinct from other men. Conflicts, which would simply rend to pieces other religious communions, in the Catholic Church neither destroy the unity of doctrinal belief nor the submission due to ecclesiastical authorities; on the contrary, though perhaps distressing in themselves, their general tendency is to promote progress by leading to solid solutions of real difficulties.

These disputes among Catholics do not of necessity imply

even so much as scandal or disedification. As long as God so orders our lives that the interests of different departments can conflict, but that a guardian is set over each department to protect its just rights—with, however, a higher authority to decide between opposing claims—there must be diversities of judgment, and there must be duties of resolute defence. In other spheres of action, for instance in politics, this necessity is fully recognized, and, apart from special circumstances, no one finds scandal in the antagonism of parties. The same necessity ought also to be recognized in the sphere of religious action. Particular dissensions may of course be really disedifying, either in view of the pettiness of what is contended for, or of the disedifying mode in which the conflict is carried on. Catholics, even Catholic ecclesiastics, are after all men, and do not always rise superior to the infirmities of men. But where the cause of dispute is, in the judgment of the disputants, of serious consequence, to maintain it resolutely and to the bitter end, may be not only permissible, but obligatory, and obligatory on both sides. And, where it is thus obligatory to press a claim, although in its advocacy one may at times meet with conduct which it is impossible not to censure, one ought not to be overmuch scandalized if in the fervour of the contest judgments should be passed, or language used, or deeds done—particularly if only in the intercourse of a confidential friendship—which somewhat overpass the borders of fairness and charity.

Tried by these tests—if allowance is made for the greatly disproportionate space which Mr. Purcell has allotted to the history of one or two such disputes, thereby conveying the false impression that they form the staple and substance of Catholic life—the revelations concerning these few dissensions in the private letters he has published, will not be thought to reflect seriously on the character either of Manning or his clerical opponents. To reserve for a somewhat more detailed treatment the painful subject of his relations with Newman, surely in each of the dissensions to which the biography calls attention, the ground of contention was of sufficient consequence to make it intelligible why the contending parties should in the exercise of their judgments have felt it a duty to press their claims. It was of serious consequence how the funds were to be allocated between two dioceses, in each of which the Bishop saw himself faced by the necessity of making extensive

provision for the building of churches, the training and maintenance of the clergy, the foundation of schools and charitable institutions. It was of serious consequence to define the relative rights of a Metropolitan and his suffragans, or again of a Bishop and his Chapter, when there was an earnest difference of judgment between the disputants in regard to administrative acts gravely affecting the salvation of souls.

And so still more in regard to the Errington case, which was just the kind of case in which it was inevitable that those concerned should take opposite sides and feel earnestly. Archbishop Errington, on Cardinal Wiseman's own solicitations, had been translated from Plymouth to Trebizond, that he might be his coadjutor during life and be vested with the right to succeed him after death. Of the personal virtues of this prelate there was no question. His earnest and self-denying life, his devotedness to duty, his unpretentiousness, his charity, his talents, and his business capacity, were recognized by all who knew him, and doubtless by Manning not less than by the rest. We, too, who look back on this history as a thing of the past, must admire the virtue of one who when at length dispossessed of his high office could settle down to the humble work of a priest in the Isle of Man, and later of a Professor at Prior Park, and who through all the remaining twenty years of his life never attempted to disturb the government of the man to whom his dispossession was attributable. Still, he might be all this and yet not be fitted to be Cardinal Wiseman's coadjutor and successor. That he was not fitted to be Cardinal Wiseman's coadjutor was obvious to almost every one. As Father Morris puts it,¹ "They were close friends who had never agreed together in anything," and their conflicting views on the administration of the diocese were causing incessant friction. It is also clear to those who look back on the past, as it was clear to very many at the time, that Dr. Errington was not fitted to succeed Wiseman. Wooden and unyielding in his government, he would have given all his clergy a rough time indeed by his impracticability, besides which he lacked the higher qualifications for the post of chief ruler and representative of English Catholicism at the stirring time when it was giving birth to the new developments; and this the more because, although a thoroughly loyal and orthodox Catholic, he belonged to the old school and shared many of its prejudices.

¹ Appendix to Dr. Gasquet's *Cardinal Manning*, p. 112.

On the other hand, he was in actual possession of the coadjutorship and right of succession, and it was almost unprecedented to deprive a prelate of these rights, except when he had been found guilty of some canonical fault such as no one dreamt of imputing to Dr. Errington.

Clearly here was an *impasse*, from which the only egress was through some drastic measure, which it required a strong and determined man to carry through. Wiseman, although fully sensible of the evil, would for peace' sake have let it continue, at least so far as the right of succession was concerned. The suffragan Bishops and clergy mostly took Errington's part, which rendered action in the opposite sense still more difficult. Thus the difficulty would have persisted had not Manning, appointed at the critical time his Procurator by Wiseman, applied his practical skill and his resolute will to the business. Stimulated by a sense of the fate in store for his Oblates should Errington succeed to the archiepiscopal throne, and still more deeply by a fear, doubtless much exaggerated, that the same contingency would mean for the English Church generally the reversal of Wiseman's entire policy and a return to insular and anti-Roman methods, he determined to work for Errington's removal. The task was a bold task to be undertaken by any one at all, a surprisingly bold task to be undertaken by one so new to Catholic life, and who, if a Proto-Notary, was not a Bishop. So bold, indeed, was the enterprise that Manning must have felt himself how uncertain, how improbable, was success, and how seriously, therefore, he was risking his own personal fortunes by embarking upon it. However, he did succeed, after three years of strenuous effort. Pius IX. became convinced that Errington was an unsuitable man for so important a see as Westminster, and after in vain suggesting to him various means by which, without loss of dignity, he might retire from the responsible position, determined to take an unusual step. In 1862 the Pope ordered Errington to resign his right of succession. It was a determination to which Pius IX. did not come without much previous prayer and consideration, and when it was reached he ascribed it to God, whose guiding light he felt himself to have received. This is what he meant by an expression which has sounded profane to those who have misapprehended its import: "No, it was not a *coup d'état* on my part, but on God's; it was a *colpo di stato di Dominiddio*." It was not, however, a *coup d'état* at all in the strict sense of the term,

for it was within the competence of the Pope to require the resignation, and, if he judged that the welfare of the Church in England was at stake, it was even his duty to require it: for no personal right in an individual can predominate over the necessities of the Church.

These considerations may help to clear Manning's reputation, so far as it could be affected by the fact of his endeavour to get Errington removed. But there is the further question whether or not his methods of procedure in the pursuance of this object were as scrupulous as Mr. Purcell suggests. It is here that the correspondence between Manning and Mgr. George Talbot, in the fifth and following chapters of Mr. Purcell's second volume, challenge attention, and we may consider it simultaneously in its bearing on the Errington case and on the other matters which it handled.

There are two points in connection with this correspondence which need to be considered; one whether its whole aim and object was or was not reprehensible, the other whether the harsh censures it often passes on individuals and classes can be justified. To determine these points it is necessary to appreciate accurately what its aim and object was.

Mgr. George Talbot, of the Malahide family, was a convert received into the Church by Cardinal Wiseman in 1847. He made his theological studies in Rome, and in course of time became Chamberlain to Pius IX., who had a great regard for him, and admitted him to relations of intimate friendship. Manning and he also contracted an intimate friendship, and their correspondence was continued from 1858 to 1869, when poor Talbot's mind became affected, and he had to be confined. Talbot, as the correspondence shows, was a man of strong prejudices, somewhat narrow-minded, but at the same time shrewd though not particularly clever. He was thoroughly loyal and true to the Church and to the Sovereign Pontiff, but not at all the sort of man who would be prepared to serve them by discreditable methods. He was noted, not, as some of Mr. Purcell's readers have gathered, for deep cunning and love of intrigue, but for his blunt outspokenness and honesty of purpose. The type to which he belonged was that of an old Tory squire of his own generation. It was this that endeared him to Pius IX., who knew that *il mio buon Giorgio* would always say straight out what he knew or felt, whether it were likely to be acceptable or not. Indeed it became almost one of his functions at the

Vatican, to announce to the Pope any bad news. The duty was one from which others shrank, but Talbot, when asked to do it for them, would go into the Papal presence and blurt all out at once. He was used by Cardinal Wiseman, and therefore by his Procurator, as his agent at Rome. It is convenient and usual for Bishops to have such agents at the centre of ecclesiastical government, and they are employed to lay matters of business before the proper authorities, to expound the meaning and desirability of what is wanted, to take any steps necessary to expedite the course of procedure. For these ends it is necessary that the agents themselves should be fully informed, and hence the necessity of copious private correspondence, supplementing the set language of the formal documents and obviating the disadvantages of red-tapeism.

Such private correspondence is what passed to and fro between Manning and Talbot, and if we keep in mind that this was its character and object, the main source of the disedification its publication has caused will be dried up. There is no ground for imagining that Talbot either had, or thought he had (to use a familiar phrase), "the Pope in his pocket." He was to transact Cardinal Wiseman's, and afterwards Archbishop Manning's, business with the different Roman authorities, with the Pope, the Propaganda, and others, and he needed to know thoroughly the mind of those in England with whom and for whom he was acting. The Cardinal and the Procurator represented matters as they believed them to be, for they could not represent them otherwise, and they were entitled to have their views laid before the proper authorities. But if the duty of the agent was to make representations in the sense of the instructions he had received, it does not follow that he was to whisper into the Pope's ear every personal criticism that had been communicated to him under the seal of confidential intercourse. Nor does it follow that the Pope and the Cardinals were prepared to take straight off as a rule of action every statement made, or opinion expressed, by agents. Doubtless they listened as much to those on the opposite side, who will have written similar letters to their own agents. After picking up in this manner all the information they could obtain, and weighing it in true Roman fashion, these Roman authorities would have given such decisions as their own judgments recommended. Let, then, the notion be dismissed as unfounded, that Manning in writing all these letters to Talbot was seeking only a backstairs method of reaching the ears of Pius IX., and pulling the strings of his action.

It is quite another question whether the many personal criticisms in which the correspondence abounds can be justified, but here also we must be careful to keep in mind the point of view to which, as a consequence of Mr. Purcell's reckless publication, we are constrained to attach primary importance. The question thus raised is not so much whether Manning's and Talbot's harsh censures on men of fair fame were true and just in themselves, as whether the fact of their having been passed ought to destroy the reputations either of Manning and Talbot, or else of those whom they censured, or of all on either side, by compelling us to regard them henceforth, no longer as men of high character and aims, but as mere wrangling ecclesiastics.

If the former question only were raised, we are free to admit that the personal censures so lavishly dealt out in the Talbot correspondence strike us as often unjust, in some places even ludicrous in their injustice. How far there were colourable grounds for supposing that the suffragan Bishops and the Westminster Chapter were men pursuing a narrow policy, and thereby retarding developments for which the spirit of the great Catholic revival was calling, we must leave to the judgment of such as had a more intimate knowledge of their views. That they were hard fighters, these prelates and clergy, we quite recognize, but they fought for interests confided to their guardianship, and in the belief that they were defending the work of God. To characterize them as "malcontent Bishops," or "disloyal to the Holy See," or "tainted with Gallicanism," or as a generation requiring "to die out before any great progress of religion in England could be expected," was grossly unfair. They were all orthodox Catholics and loyal to the core in their feelings towards the Holy See. They were all men of solid piety and devoted earnestness, simple and true in their lives and helpful patterns to their flocks; whilst to some of them even the praise of saintliness is due. Even if we should think we find matter for criticism or disapprobation at times in the details of their administration, this certainly remains true, that with remarkable zeal and enterprise and with much wisdom and foresight, they met the necessities of their times, and laid for us the foundations of that new order which the return of the Hierarchy demanded. They gathered together congregations, built churches and schools, established charitable works, brought in the religious communities, and fostered with untiring labour and vigilance the growth of all these infant institutions. Even by the resolute championship of their claims for which they are

blamed in the Talbot correspondence, if they may have been wrong in some respects, they will have been right in others, and so have contributed to the healthy settlement under which we now peacefully live. We who reap the fruit of their toils and battles must ever cherish their memory with grateful respect, as the memory of Fathers who, in company with our first Archbishop of Westminster, "built up our walls which had been so long down."

But it is possible to recognize all this and still credit Manning and Talbot with pure and high-minded intentions in regard to the harsh and mistaken judgments which—but only under the secrecy and freedom of a private correspondence—they interchanged with each other. Here the appreciation of Manning's character given above supplies a key to the puzzle. It was, as we have pointed out, the special defect of Manning's mind that he could not simultaneously attach himself to a cause and sympathize with the motives of those who opposed it. He was Roman of the Romans himself, and if any picked holes in the arguments by which he recommended the full Roman claims, why surely such persons must be anti-Roman. He was devotedly attached to Cardinal Wiseman's person and policy, and if any found flaws in an administration which, if large-minded and brilliant, was also somewhat unbusinesslike, why then they must be disloyal to their ecclesiastical chief. He was anxious to raise the tone of the clergy as high as possible, and had this object in view in introducing the Oblates of St. Charles. If then any took exception to the new institute, or rather to the general regulations of priestly life which its advent seemed to forebode, why then they must be sadly unconscious of what the priestly dignity demanded. We must not forget, too, that whereas, as has been related above, numerous gradations were then distinguishable in the attitude of Catholics towards the burning ecclesiastical questions of the day, the constitutional defect of Manning's mind predisposed him to miss sight of them and class all persons alike among the extremes. And Talbot in these respects differed from Manning only in this that, with a judgment still more narrow, his distance from the scene of action inclined him to fall even more deeply into this abyss of misconception.

It will be well, however, to notice in the correspondence between these friends, how they frequently pass favourable as well as unfavourable judgments on their opponents. Space unfortunately forbids us to dilate on this point, but reference

may be made to Manning's cordial and grateful recognition of the kindness with which he was met by all his recent opponents when the disputed points had been adjudged, and he came among them as their new Archbishop. The spirit of Christian charity was at work on both sides, prompting these displays, and it is in such promptings that its cementing power is evinced.

This article is travelling beyond the usual limits, but there are two further points which it is impossible to pass over. One is the "variance," as Manning calls it, between himself and Newman. Faithful to his strange notion that public inquisitiveness is entitled to have every secret laid bare to its scrutiny, Mr. Purcell has conscientiously printed all he could find bearing on the distressing subject. Both Newman and Manning have devoted friends and relatives still living who cannot hear without sharp pain aught that may seem to reflect on their fair fame. But what matter if ancient wounds are torn open and tender feelings irritated, so long as the new god gets the delicious morsel which he covets?

After carefully sifting the entire history of this "variance," we had at first thought of discussing its details with some care. But on reflection it has seemed clear that we shall best consult the feelings of those by whom the memory of the two Cardinals is cherished, if we restrict ourselves to a few general observations conceived in the same spirit which has motived these two articles throughout. Newman and Manning were alike in one respect. They were both men of strong affections, and at an earlier period, when their paths coincided, they had contracted a close friendship for each other. The time came when this ancient friendship was strained till it almost snapped, but it survived to the end at least in a craving for its renewal, or a reverence for its memory. It was such a craving which impelled Manning from time to time to make his overtures of reconciliation, and which spoke out perhaps with an excess of language, but at all events with an amiable excess, in his sermon at the Brompton Oratory. It was such a reverence for the past which dictated Newman's continued signature, "Yours affectionately"—not, surely, in such a man a meaningless phrase—and we have heard that also in other ways Newman to the last gave expression to the same feeling. There was a friendly meaning too in the promised interchange of Masses for each other when, in 1867, the negotiations for a *rapprochement* broke down. Mr. Purcell's Protestant reviewers have naturally missed the significance of this episode, but it meant a desire to express

kindly feeling in one way at least when other ways had failed. Surely there is edification in all this, and a testimony to the reality of Catholic charity.

But if in affectionateness they were so much alike, in mental temperament they were most unlike. That characters so distinct if brought much together would eventually clash might confidently have been predicted. For whilst Manning was constitutionally so unable to sympathize with the intellectual difficulties of an opponent, in Newman this particular gift of sympathy was exceptionally strong. No one, perhaps, has equalled him in his faculty for stating in its full strength an opponent's case, just as few have equalled him in his faculty of bringing out the superior strength of his own. It was from this faculty of appreciating the strength and the difficulties of a position in the same comprehensive survey, that his great gift of intellectual sympathy sprang. To a mind thus endowed it was natural that perplexed minds should have recourse; and this is why not only many Anglicans were wont to consult him, but also why the class of Catholics represented by the *Rambler*, the class subsequently called Liberal Catholics, gathered round him. Newman had no disposition to accept their programme for himself. How he protested against it in private letters to the staff of that journal we now know from the extracts in his long letter to Oakeley (August 18, 1867),¹ and in 1879, in his address in the Palazzo della Pigna, before receipt of the red biretta, he took occasion to state that his entire life had been one long fight against Liberalism in religion. With his clear intuition he perceived that the special opinions inscribed on its banner were incapable of harmonious fusion with the principles of the Catholic Church; he perceived how they were of rationalistic origin, and how if they had contributed to create a school among Catholic thinkers, it was only, to use Father Coleridge's apt similitude, as the storm raging without creates a wash inside the harbour.

But precisely because he himself was not the victim of Liberalistic fallacies, he could help those who were, in the hope of assisting them through their perplexities, and of preserving for the work of the Church their zeal and capacity. His feeling, too, was that Manning and Ward² were increasing

¹ Vol. ii. p. 335.

² What can be the reason of the pointed unfairness with which Mr. Purcell speaks of Dr. W. G. Ward whenever he can make an opportunity for referring to him? One such passage ought not to be passed over without censure. He had described very becomingly the ceremony of Manning's consecration, and the presence there of

unnecessarily the perplexities of harassed minds by setting forth as obligatory opinions which Church authority had not enforced.

Manning, on the other hand, started from the belief that a fuller recognition of the claims of the Holy See was the great want of the age. In particular he was the strenuous advocate of all the doctrines disliked by theological Liberalism, of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, of the Pope's indefeasible right to his Temporal Power, and of the introduction into England of Roman books and practices of devotion. From this standpoint and with his imperfect power of entering into the minds of others, or appreciating their exact positions, he was very indignant with the writers in the *Rambler*, and, finding that they gathered round Newman and swore by him, assumed that Newman must be giving them encouragement. It is to the year 1861 that he himself, in a letter to Canon Oakeley (August 14, 1867), attributes the origin of the mischief. In that year he had published some sermons on the Temporal Power, and an article in the *Rambler* (November, 1861) criticized them unfavourably. He thought that Newman had either written or inspired it, though why he should have thought so is not easily intelligible. Newman, even if he had shared the ideas of the article, would certainly have shown a more accurate knowledge of historical facts, and a more accurate appreciation of Manning's argument; as a matter of fact, he never saw the article till 1867. Still, Manning was persuaded his hand was in it, and Cardinal Newman, in compliance with a very special invitation from Manning, "unobtrusively kneeling among the crowd of secular clergy." But then, as if loth to see sweet ointment without a fly in it, he must add that, "On the very day of his consecration, Archbishop Manning received a characteristic letter from Dr. Ward, the editor of the *Dublin Review*, denouncing Father Newman as 'a disloyal Catholic.'" (ii. 231.) The full text of this letter he nowhere allows us to see, but the small portion which he does print elsewhere (ii. 309) neither justifies these inverted commas nor the phrase which they include. What Ward did say was essentially different, and it would have been quite unlike him to use the words thus unfairly put into his mouth. One does not like to suggest such an explanation, but really the tone of Mr. Purcell's language in passages like this seems to exhale the odours of a personal animosity. Dr. Ward, whose reasoning has more force than Mr. Purcell is aware of, was, let us grant, unconsciously inconsiderate at times for the intellectual difficulties of others, though was his language ever more unmeasured in this respect than Mr. Purcell's own in his article in the *Dublin Review* for May, 1861 (*Döllinger and the Temporal Power of the Pope*)? But if Dr. Ward exceeded in the way mentioned, surely after the biography written by his son Mr. Purcell has no excuse for being unaware of the strong personal affection and reverence which he cherished for John Henry Newman. "Do you remember," he wrote to Father Ryder, after the appearance of the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, "Warren Hastings saying that when he heard Burke speak, he for the moment thought himself a monster. Apply the parable, and remember how enormously J. H. N. has always influenced my mind." Mr. Wilfrid Ward adds that "Newman was evidently touched by it [the letter], and wrote a friendly and kind note." (*William G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, p. 232.)

felt his suspicions confirmed by a remark made to him by Newman a month or so later on the opening of the Accademia; a remark of which he misunderstood the purport. One can understand how all this would have rankled in a mind like Manning's. Here he was defending a doctrine on which the Holy Father had expressed himself so strongly, and all the influence of Newman was to be arrayed against him.

A year or two later the question of Catholics going to Oxford came to the front. Manning was confident that the Protestant atmosphere of Oxford would be harmful to the faith of immature minds, and he opposed the practice with all his strength, writing against it in the *Dublin Review*. Newman, although he did not express it publicly, seems to have taken the same view of the likely effects of Oxford life on young Catholics. Just at that time, however, he was invited by the Bishop of Birmingham to start an Oratory at Oxford. The object was, as young Catholics were in fact attending the University, to make the best of the situation, and at least found there a Catholic institution on which they could lean. But, Manning hearing of this, saw in it only another confirmation of his former suspicions. Here was Newman again working in the interests of Liberal Catholicism—worldly Catholicism, he called it, meaning by the term, Catholicism seeking to purchase the world's favour by accepting some of its pet principles. If Newman went to Oxford and opened an Oratory there, it would be the signal for Catholic parents to send their children to the University without further hesitation. And the danger was now very serious. Newman had his Bishop behind him, and Oxford was in that Bishop's diocese. It was a duty then to take the only measures likely to be effectual, and by laying the whole case before the Roman authorities, induce them to veto an Oxford Oratory and issue a prohibition against Catholic youths being entered at the University. To this task therefore he addressed himself, and succeeded in obtaining what he desired.

To return now to Newman and to the effect these proceedings had on him. He was the most loyal of men to the superiors whom God had set over him, and his loyalty was displayed not merely in ready submission to their injunctions, but also in an anxiety to receive from them suggestions as to what he should undertake. There is a very beautiful and humble letter from him to Father Whitty (March 19, 1865),¹ in which

¹ Vol. ii. p. 500.

he confesses to a sense of discouragement. He had accepted the Presidency of the Dublin Catholic University at the suggestion of Pius IX., the work of translating the Bible at the suggestion of the Synod of Oscott, the editorship of the *Rambler* at the suggestion of Cardinal Wiseman, the purchase of land for an Oxford Oratory at the suggestion of Bishop Ullathorne. Yet in each case he had been stopped. He took it as "God's blessed will" that he should have been stopped, but still he could not help perceiving that some influence was at work against him; he could not but feel that he was being misrepresented at Rome itself as a dangerous person, and this was the kind of blow which it was his nature to feel most acutely. Nor was it only that the blow was thus sharp, but it was also sufficiently clear to him that the hand which struck it was the hand of a friend. There was one action, too, with which this friend was credited, which if Newman had been told of it by this time must have seemed inexpressibly cruel. So far back as 1859, Newman had written an article in the *Rambler* (July 1859), entitled, *On consulting the faithful in matters of doctrine*. It was an innocent and plain-sailing article enough, on the *Consensus Fidelium* as a *Locus Theologicus*, but it purported to be in defence of a somewhat questionable remark by another writer in a former number of the periodical. It looks as if Newman had chivalrously come forward to draw the other writer out of a difficulty, and had not noticed how far that other writer had gone. Perhaps for this reason, but at all events in fact, Newman's article was, very inadvisedly, delated at Rome by Bishop Brown of Menevia. Newman was then invited by the Holy Office to send in his explanations, and it could not have been difficult for him to send explanations which would give complete satisfaction. He did draw up explanations, and at Cardinal Wiseman's request, sent them through him. Somehow they never reached the Roman authorities, who accordingly felt themselves treated with disrespect. Through some channel or other, and at some date not known, it was told or suggested to Newman that Manning had suppressed his document with evil intent. Probably Newman did not give entire credence to this story, but in view of what he otherwise suspected in Manning, he may have been inclined to think there was some foundation for it. We must add, after studying the letters which Mr. Purcell prints,¹ that we believe the story to have been quite untrue. Somewhere about 1879,

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 343—346.

Father Morris, in conversation with a fellow-professor at St. Beuno's College, mentioned that Newman's letter of explanation to the Sacred Congregation had been found by himself among Cardinal Wiseman's papers, which meant that Wiseman, who about that time fell ill, had forgotten all about forwarding it to Rome. If due regard is had to dates, we believe that Father Morris's statement can be made to fit in with the letters now printed, and so thoroughly to vindicate Manning, whose indignant denials, however, apart from any independent information, ought in a matter of this kind to be taken as decisive.

To return now to Manning. If we read aright what led to the interesting but unsatisfactory correspondence between him and Newman in 1867, and again in 1869—Canon Oakeley being the intermediary in 1867—it was this, that, partly on private partly on public grounds, he was really anxious for a reconciliation with Newman, from whom the above-narrated circumstances had then estranged him for some years. He could not see why personal friendship should not co-exist with public opposition between himself and Newman, just as, for instance, it might between himself and Gladstone. To Newman on the other hand, the overtures so made naturally bore a different construction. "Here is a man," he might feel, "who openly comes to me with proffers of friendship, whilst secretly he is dealing me the cruellest wound by denouncing me as a disloyal spirit." What wonder, then, if the negotiations broke off without result, each stating that the root of the difficulty was that he felt distrustful of the other?

Here let us also break off. We might trace the further course of this painful history, but enough has been said to serve the one purpose we have cared to serve. Into the question whether blame, or how far blame, requires to be apportioned out, we decline to enter. Why should we, seeing how acutely the friends of either Cardinal would feel pained by such an investigation? But what has been said, has been said with the object of showing how largely such an investigation is unnecessary, how largely the entire history of the "variance" can be explained, apart from the imputation of conscious fault, by the mere clash of characters so strikingly unlike, yet each so acutely sensitive, under the stress of adverse circumstances. Let us, then, undebarr'd by this unfortunate "variance," continue to venerate the memories of both the men who, under God's providence, wrought so effectually in recalling the English people to kindlier feelings towards the Catholic religion; and,

while we rejoice that the cloud, with which it overcast a career splendid even under its shadow, was at last dispelled by a gracious act of the Supreme Pontiff, let us, instead of carping at an amiable exaggeration, be edified by the knowledge that Manning's voice tried to make reparation for the injury done by words of just appreciation said over Newman's grave.

There is but one more point with which we need deal. Again how gladly would we pass it over altogether, were it not that silence might be misconstrued. It will be understood that we have in mind that portion of the biography which treats of Cardinal Manning's attitude towards the Religious Orders in general, and the Society of Jesus in particular. That he entertained views unfavourable to their continued existence, at least in this country, was well known in Catholic circles; but Mr. Purcell publishes certain notes, written by the Cardinal shortly before his death, in which he set forth, with some minuteness, the grounds of his opinion. It was natural that a Bishop approaching his end should leave behind him such records for the instruction of his successors, and it may be that he contemplated their eventual publication. Still, what has been said in general of his autobiographical notes and other private documents, especially needs to be said here. There is no solid reason for thinking that Mr. Purcell, writing as he does within four years of the Cardinal's death, was intended to publish them, but rather there are the strongest reasons for thinking that he was not. "I hope that no word of mine, written or spoken, will do harm to any one after my death." So ran the words which Cardinal Manning spoke into the phonograph as his message to an after age, and it is not credible that, dying in such dispositions, he desired Mr. Purcell, in his name, to cast this burning brand into our midst. However, we are all of us fortunately, whether seculars or regulars, too much of one mind to be drawn by an inconsiderate publication into the crime of kindling fires of strife around his still fresh grave. One brief observation, therefore, on his views, as expressed in the aforesaid notes, is all that we will permit ourselves to make, and even this we permit ourselves only because it may assist to promote agreement by removing a misconception.

The theological language in which the Church casts the expression of her doctrines is sometimes perplexing, and the Cardinal, in this, perhaps, suffering from the enforced curtailment of his formal theological studies, appears to have misunderstood the purport of the phrase, "State of Religious Perfection." On reading, for instance, in Gury that "the priesthood is the higher

dignity, but the religious life the more perfect state," he asked himself, Is not the state instituted by our Lord more perfect than a state instituted only by the Church, and is not the necessary effect of treating the priesthood as only a lower grade of perfection to make priests who are not religious contented with a low tone of spiritual life? It was this second question which so exercised him, for his chief solicitude as a Bishop was to excite his priests to conceive as highly as possible of the dignity of their state and of the holiness of life which it demanded. But Gury never meant what Manning understood him to mean. "No degree of holiness," he would have said, "not even the holiness of our Blessed Lady, could be deemed excessive as an accompaniment of the priestly dignity." Still, our Lord, and therefore also His Church, tempers His requirements to our infirmities, and in this spirit the Church has not thought it necessary to *exact* more from those taking upon themselves the priestly dignity than the state of celibacy and the observance of the sacred canons and diocesan regulations. Some, however, are encouraged to go further, and embrace what are called the three Evangelical Counsels, and the life thus constituted, in conformity with our Lord's own declarations and terminology, has always been called the Life of Perfection. If these three counsels are practised without vows, there results a Life of Perfection, but not a State of Perfection. The State of Perfection requires further the obligation of vows; for the term "state" imports stability, and this the vows, if perpetual, supply. Nor, the theologians would say, can vows be regarded as diminishing liberty, or "the merit which is measured by liberty," but rather as perfecting it; just as the marriage bond does not weaken but perfect the love of husband for wife or wife for husband, the merit of which is likewise measured by its liberty.

A Bishop, but not an ordinary priest, is likewise said by the theologians to be in a State of Perfection, though here the term "Perfection" has a somewhat different meaning, and the term "State" indicates not the result of consecration, but of the bond by which the Bishop is wedded to his diocese, a bond which imparts stability because it can be dissolved only by the Pope, and in the interests only of the Church, not of the Bishop himself. Clearly there is nothing in this doctrine tending to discourage high aspirations in priests who have not felt the call to embrace what the Church herself calls the Counsels of Perfection. The life of the Counsels may be justly deemed a Perfect Way, inasmuch as it impels so efficaciously to the acquirement of

perfection, but perfection itself is in the exercise of charity, the highest theological virtue. To this exercise we are all invited, seculars as much as regulars, laity as much as clergy, married as much as celibates; and certainly it is not the mind of the religious to desire anything else for their brethren of the secular clergy than that they should join with them in a holy rivalry to sustain the dignity of their common priesthood, by faithful correspondence with the great graces which God gives to all priests alike. And now in passing from a subject which we should have preferred to leave untouched, may we at least use the present opportunity, on the part of the Society of Jesus, to thank our present Archbishop and Bishops for the many acts of kindness we have received at their hands, and to assure them of our desire to aid them with all our might by working under their leadership for the cause of Christ and His Church.

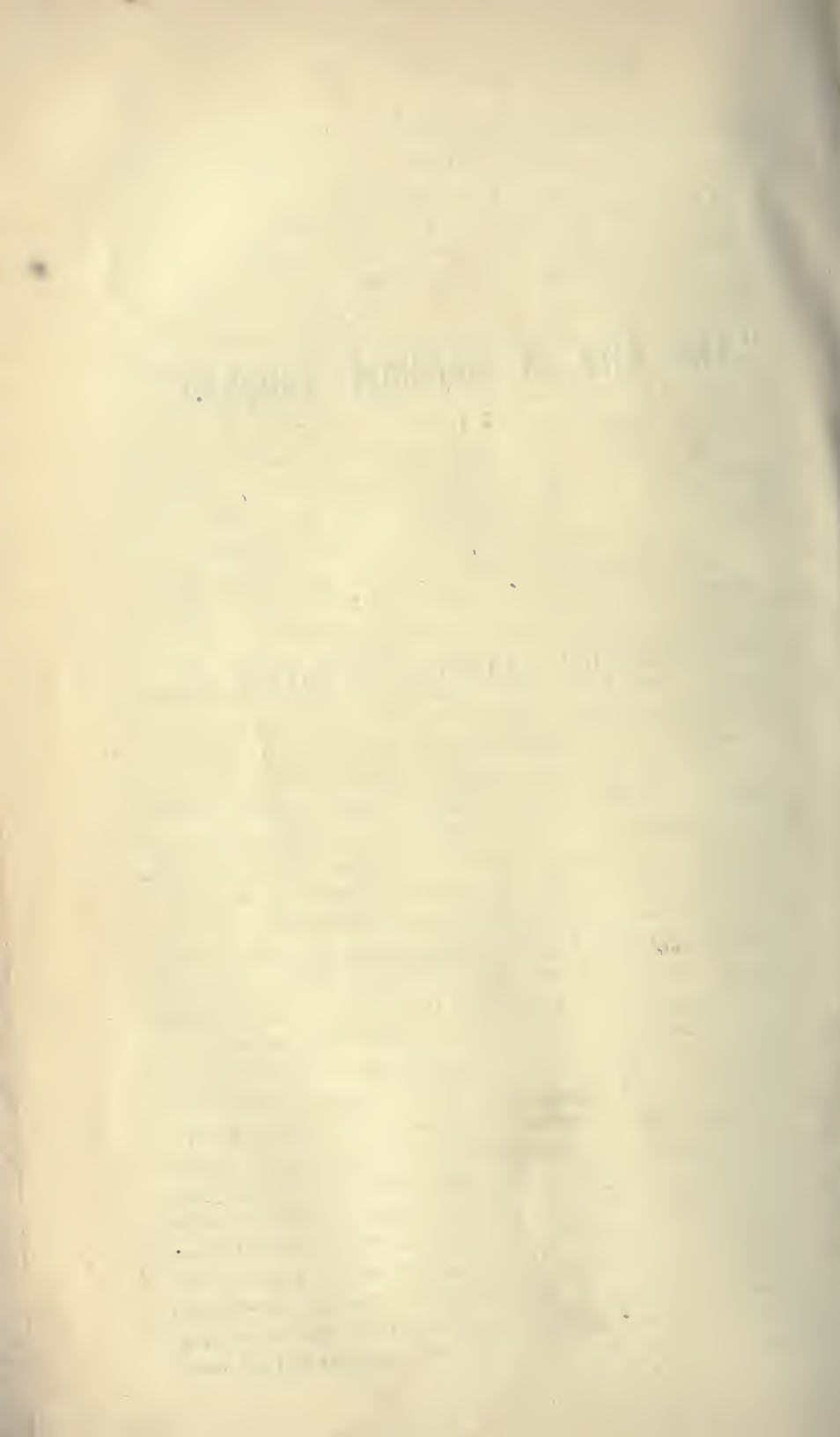
Here too, for the present at least, we leave Mr. Purcell and his book. There is much else in its contents, its fascinating contents as in justice we grant, on which we should have wished to dwell, and to dwell by preference rather than on the less pleasant topics with which these articles have been concerned. But the course we have followed seemed to be demanded by the circumstances. Mr. Purcell—unintentionally we fully believe, but still in fact—has inflicted a great wrong on the memory of Cardinal Manning, and through him on the Catholic cause in this country which as our chief pastor he represented. By publishing private documents which ought not to have seen the light, by omitting explanations without which such documents, if published, could not fail to be misconstrued, by even suggesting misconstructions which unless suggested would not have occurred to a reader's mind, he has created a belief throughout the country that Manning's high reputation was undeserved, and that after all he was but a mere self-regarding, intriguing, "Romish ecclesiastic." Some slight contribution towards the refutation of this calumny we have endeavoured to offer, for after a full recognition of the human element in Manning's character, and notwithstanding the feeling that in several respects the course of his administration was ill-advised, we believe with Mr. Purcell, though in spite of Mr. Purcell's biography, that the words used of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the Antiphon of the Sarum rite, may with due limitations be said also of Manning: That Church and country have reason to be proud of him which can look back on the memory of his example and his services.

"The Life of Cardinal Vaughan."

I.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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“*The Life of Cardinal Vaughan.*”

I.

MR. SNEAD-COX'S *Life of Cardinal Vaughan* challenges comparison in many respects with the late Mr. Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning* which made such a sensation twelve years ago. Each is occupied with the life of a great prelate and leader of English Catholicism. Each has to travel, therefore, over much of the same ground as the other, and to deal with the same class of religious problems and events. Each has been able to draw from a rich store of private papers, of a kind so intimate as seldom falls into the hands of a biographer. The *format*, too, in which the new work appears, has evidently been chosen to direct attention to this comparison, for these two volumes which have just appeared resemble Mr. Purcell's two volumes almost exactly in their size, and typing, and scarlet covers. But when this is said the resemblance ceases. Mr. Purcell showed himself wholly incapable of entering into the mind of Cardinal Manning, and hence misrepresented his character and ideas to such a degree that the biography, though most precious for the materials it embodied, became nothing less than a colossal slander. Mr. Snead-Cox, on the other hand, has thoroughly understood Cardinal Vaughan, and so has set him before us in a portraiture to the truth and life-like distinctness of which all who knew him will bear witness. It is, in fact, a first-rate bit of biography, and is already being recognized as such. A few critics have, indeed, described it as a panegyric, insinuating that aspects of the Cardinal's character have been suppressed which, had they been duly described, would have considerably diminished the pleasing effect which the writer wished to produce. We mention this criticism only that we may censure its injustice. It is impossible to get a true notion of a man's personality without taking count of his defects and limitations; nor has Mr. Snead-Cox thought to pass these over. On the contrary, we see them in the Cardinal just as they were,

and not only as they struck others, but as they struck him, and were made by him the subject of much diligent self-searching, of many humble and earnest regrets, as well as many heroic efforts towards self-conquest.

Another criticism which this *Life* has encountered is that it draws too freely on documents the privacy of which should have been scrupulously respected. It is a criticism which on general grounds appeals to us forcibly; for we do feel very strongly that the records of a man's self-searchings and intercourse with God, which as a humble-minded Christian he would have loathed to see given to the world, should be withheld from publication, at least till the generation that knew him personally has followed him to the grave. Still, the materials for a thorough understanding of the late Cardinal which have been provided for us in this way are immensely valuable; and this not merely for those Catholic readers who are prepared to hear of an interior life like his lying behind and explaining what has been open to misinterpretation in the external life of speech and action, but particularly for those on whom it will come as a surprise and whom it may lead to correct misconceptions into which they may have fallen. The use made of all these spiritual papers has, in other words, enabled the biographer to furnish a convincing vindication of the personality of one whose cause, being that of a leader of English Catholicism, is in many ways inseparable from the vindication of English Catholicism itself. Is that, one asks oneself, a sufficient justification for drawing thus extensively on the papers? Well, we know from the *Lives of the Saints* how sometimes their Superiors have compelled them under obedience to record analogous spiritual experiences for the sake of the edification or instruction which others may derive from the disclosures. A principle of permissibility underlies such injunctions. Does it cover an analogous case such as that before us?

The late Cardinal was brought up in an ideal Catholic home, and one can trace without difficulty its influence on the moulding of his character and the shaping of his after-life. A picture of this home at Courtfield is given in an early chapter, partly in the words of another inmate of it, and certainly it is a most pleasing picture for those who are sensible to the attraction of lives hidden with Christ in God. Colonel John Vaughan "was a man of strong and marked

personality, very frank and energetic, with perhaps little comprehension for weakness of any kind. He was a model of sincerity and directness, and a fine type of the class to which he belonged." He was in short a particularly fine specimen of an English country squire, but was also a fine Christian gentleman, marked alike by the tenderest piety and an uncompromising adherence to Catholic principle. The snuff-box story which has become widely known illustrates the latter feature very aptly. He had been impressing on his son Bernard that it was a poor thing to be the slave to any appetite or practice, and the son had rather impertinently retaliated: "'Well, father, how is it that the snuff-box is brought to you every day at the end of dinner? . . . You always take out a big pinch.' For a moment he was silent, and then made me fetch the box, and while in the act of tossing it into the fire, he said, 'There goes the box, and that is the end of that bit of slavery.'" And the blending of this strong grasp of principle with the tenderest piety comes out in the following record of an experience he had shortly after the death of his wife in 1853. He had spent a portion of the day before the Blessed Sacrament "thanking God that I could offer Him the sacrifice of her whom I so devotedly and tenderly loved; I offered myself for every cross or suffering He might please to send me; praying only to do His holy will as to my state of life, and every particular of my existence." His spirit had overflowed with consolation, in which he was greatly aided when he saw, in his imagination, the wife he had so recently lost "kneeling within the sanctuary and bending forward in adoration." This made him look forward with great pleasure to the night-watch before the Blessed Sacrament he proposed to make, but when the time came yet brought with it no return of the sensible consolation, the solidity of his piety was manifested.

I hoped to receive much consolation in prayer, and in truth I tried hard during two or three hours of the night to excite myself to devotion by every effort of the mind and posture of the body. I prayed and meditated, I bent, I bowed, I prostrated. It was in vain. . . . I could not revive the impressions of the previous day; nor excite one particle of sensible devotion. This, however, did not sadden nor discourage me, but showed me how little of the deep impressions and the copious tears of yesterday was dependent upon any act of the will, and how entirely they must have come from above, and how truly they were graces to guide me to a virtuous life. . . . I must retrench all

superfluities to the body, and increase my exertions to the limit of endurance.

Moreover Father Bernard Vaughan is the authority for the following incident, which serves admirably to illustrate the stern but tender spirit that was in both father and son. It happened shortly before the father's death.

Colonel Vaughan was seated propped up in an arm-chair in great suffering. His two sons, Herbert and Bernard, were on either side. Then a sudden spasm of pain seemed to shake his whole frame, and Bernard, in pity, suggested an injection of morphia. The Colonel turned to Herbert and said, "What do you say?" The answer came that he was quite free to use the drug, "But, father, if I were you, I should stick to the Cross." The old soldier looked up to Bernard and said, "Well, what do you say to that?" "I consider it my duty to relieve you of all the pain I can, and then, when no more can be done, to leave you to God." The father said simply, "Herbert is my eldest son, and I will follow his advice."

L'homme morale se forme sur les genoux de sa mère is, we believe, a French proverb, and we may certainly trace the handiwork of his mother in the formation of Herbert Vaughan. Mr. Snead-Cox speaks of her in the following terms :

There was another influence in the home at Courtfield—a gracious presence making itself felt all the day and everywhere—that was silently helping to tune Herbert's soul to other issues. Colonel Vaughan had been singularly fortunate in his marriage. Beautiful, as her portraits remain to testify, Mrs. Vaughan was one of those gentle spirits whose influence is chiefly felt in the happy difference they make in all the lives that are near them. At the Hendre she had been brought up in an atmosphere of earnest Evangelical piety. A convert to the Catholic Church shortly before her marriage, she consecrated herself heart and soul to the service of God. Her religion coloured her whole outlook upon the world. It was a favourite saying of hers that she had received all from God, and so must be ready to give everything back to Him. And what more precious had she to give and surrender than her own children? She wanted them *all* to become priests and nuns. It was not a case of thinking that it would be nice if some younger son made up his mind to study for the priesthood or one of the daughters went to a convent, there to pray for the rest: she besought God to send vocations to them *all*—to Herbert, her eldest-born, no less than to the others. For nearly twenty years it was her daily practice to spend an hour—from five to six in the afternoon—in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament asking this favour—that God would call every one of her

children to serve Him in the Choir or in the Sanctuary. In the event all her five daughters entered convents, and of her eight sons six became priests; even the two who have remained in the world, for a time entered ecclesiastical seminaries to try their vocations.

It was under such influences of heredity and education that the future Cardinal grew up, and what wonder that, when the time came for deciding about his future, he elected for the ecclesiastical state. The idea apparently grew within him gradually, as indeed it usually does, for it involved the renunciation of cherished ties and objects of affection. "Over it all," he said in after-years in a reminiscent mood, whilst wandering among the fields and woods around Courtfield, "is the memory of what I went through before I made up my mind to be a priest." His vocation in that early stage took the form of a desire to devote his life to the Catholicizing of his native Wales. "Wales calls," he writes at that time, "with a saddened and as it were with a dying voice, for some one to help her . . . let me be a house which is lighted up for those poor souls whom You have redeemed, that they may see it like the city placed on a hill." The picture which rose before him in his dreams had no colouring of personal exaltation. It was that of a solitary priest in a Welsh seaside town where he could be working unobtrusively and earnestly among a humble flock, and in times of disheartenment turning to seek comfort and encouragement in visits to the Blessed Sacrament. It was with this vision to sustain him that he left England for Rome in the autumn of 1851, to pursue his theological studies. There he came in contact with Aubrey de Vere, who was much struck by him, and has put on record how he appeared to others in those buoyant days of his youth.

He renounces [he wrote] prospects as brilliant almost as any man in England can command [which was rather an exaggeration] to be a priest in some out-of-the-way village in Wales, and seems as happy as the day is long in his studies and devotions. He is very handsome and refined, and as innocent as a child. He sits up half the night reading St. Thomas Aquinas, and tells us the next morning that he has been dreaming that people had been burning him alive, and that it had given him no pain.

His own diary, however, reveals to us that under this bright and captivating exterior lay a hidden trouble which caused him much distress, for at this time, and long after, he was a great

sufferer from ill-health, which interfered seriously with his studies and raised anxieties as to whether his ardent desires to win souls for God might not be rendered impracticable for sheer want of physical strength. The thought depressed him greatly, but he had learnt the lesson of true devotion which is conformity with the will of God whatever it be.

I must now accustom myself [he wrote early in 1853] to the crosses of the student—crosses of sickness, of irritation, of disgust ; it is well with him who has borne the yoke from youth. But, alas ! I bear with little sweetness and joyfulness these crosses of the present day. I feel weary and sick and unable to study, and if I am asked, I make no difficulty to say all that I feel. . . . One may complain to God and ask Him to lighten the burden. It were more pleasing to Him if I were to bear with my little troubles without allowing their merit to be dimmed by the appearance of complaint on my lips.

Nor was this his only cross during the time of his studies. Not many days after these words were written down came the crushing news that his mother, the mother who had been all in all to her husband and children, had died in her confinement. It was to be for him a life-long sorrow. Even to his brothers he was always shy of speaking of her. "Sometimes," writes his brother Bernard, who was very young at the time of her death, "when I ventured to plead for some of his reminiscences of her, he would get red and hot, and, after saying that there was no one ever like her, he would turn to some other subject." So far was he from that deadness to family affection which he sometimes affected, to the surprise and perplexity of friends like Aubrey de Vere. There are other entries in the diary he kept at this time on which his biographer has drawn to show the thoughts which were then exercising his mind. They tell of the high spiritual standards he was embracing, of the simple-minded earnestness with which he was pursuing them, of his distress over the shortcomings of which he was fully conscious, of the genuine humility with which he acknowledged them and set himself to overcome them.

Unless a priest's heart overflow, how can he attend to any other's heart? Unless he be all on fire, how can he inflame the hearts of men? I fear I am too much wrapped up in myself—I am not sufficiently all to all. . . . *Quis infirmatus et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur et ego non uror?* I do indeed feel these words—they go through me, they set me on fire. But when the moment, the cold,

unsought-for moment, comes for throwing myself into the hearts of others, for sympathizing with them, for going with them—in a word assimilating myself to them—I do not, I cannot do it. I think I begin to see why it is that our Lord has sent me sickness and several other trials of late. . . . Were my constitution stronger and equal to the energy of my character, I should be going wrong in very many ways. And now even as things are, what a host of bad habits have I not to rout out. How hasty I am in speaking—how sweeping in condemnations, how positive in assertion, how persevering in my own opinion, how little yielding to others, how wayward and obstinate.

And again :

My transition from quiet to motion is a jerk, and my movement is an impetuous rush . . . all this impetuosity must be stopped somehow or other . . . fight I will (by God's grace and good-will) and never cease till I have completely gained a triumph. The very impetuosity I would suppress shall supply its own steam for its direction into a more useful channel.

And again :

I had thought to have been ordained in August ; it will not now be until October. I have prayed for health, and our Lord has not heard me ; I have sought learning and I cannot find it. All hope is dried up in me. . . . I am truly an unprofitable servant, and, if it has ever passed my mind that I might some day be of use to the Church, now surely that vain hope no longer remains, and I am become like a man without the joy of life, without its glorious beacon in advance.

And yet he writes a few weeks later :

Though I do not feel a drop of emotion, nor any devotion, nor any of that enthusiastic love of God which I long to possess, I am determined (without grace I am nothing), I am determined to devote all my energies to God. I long to be able to do some heroic work.

These short selections from the rich store of spiritual notes which are incorporated into the biography may serve to convey an idea of what Herbert Vaughan was, in his inner life of self-searching and intercourse with God, when the hour drew on for the termination of his studies and the commencement of his active life. He was ordained priest at Lucca on October 28, 1854, and apparently was at once invited by Cardinal Wiseman to take up the position of Vice-President at St. Edmund's College, Ware. He was a very young man for such a post, so young that it had required a Papal dispensation to permit of his

ordination, but during his three years' sojourn at Rome he had contracted with the future Cardinal Manning a friendship so intimate as to be almost like that of son and father. Manning formed the highest idea of his spirit and capacity, and it was probably by his recommendation that the ever-sanguine Wiseman was moved to appoint him to so responsible an office. It must have been a trial to the young priest to accept it, as it pointed to the abandonment of his cherished hopes of working among the Welsh. But he accepted it as the will of God, and doubtless there were also more fundamental reasons which made the change of plans appear desirable, for Manning was then arranging with the Cardinal for the introduction into England of the Oblates of St. Charles, and it was in contemplation that one of their chief works should be the administration of diocesan Seminaries. Having this work before him, Father Herbert Vaughan spent some months in visiting colleges and seminaries in Italy, France, and Germany, and studying their systems. Thus he did not arrive at St. Edmund's till the autumn of 1855.

He was not welcome there, for Manning was thought of as a masterful convert set on getting the training of the clergy into his own hands and was much disliked by the clergy of the old hereditary Catholic school then in charge of the College, whereas their new Vice-President was known to be an avowed disciple of Manning, who had been sent to them for the express purpose of reorganizing their methods into accordance with his ideas. It was in fact an impossible position into which the young priest was being thrust, and became more impossible still when, a year after his arrival, the Congregation of the Oblates was formed, and he, with three others, likewise put on to the staff, joined its ranks. The conflict was to be between the traditional English methods of Seminary administration, and what were claimed to be the sounder and more spiritual methods and discipline at Rome and on the Continent. If it were thought desirable to substitute the latter for the former, it would have been prudent to entrust the administration of the College to a homogeneous staff, all enthusiastic in favour of the new system. Yet, in fact, whilst the President and others of the staff were committed to the old system—and when it is said that Dr. Weathers, afterwards Bishop Weathers, was the President, it will be understood that the conflict was no conflict between spiritual

and unspiritual men—the Vice-President with a handful of supporters were put nominally under him, but virtually with a commission to disregard him, and work out the new system independently of his authority. No wonder that such an arrangement broke down after six years, and necessitated the removal of the Oblates from St. Edmund's; no wonder that Herbert Vaughan "came to look back upon his work as Vice-President with a sad sense of frustration and disappointment." Still, that six years' work at Old Hall was by no means in all respects frustrated of its purpose by this domestic quarrel. He founded a mission at Hertford, in the service of which he exhibited his characteristic enthusiasm and self-sacrifice; he ministered among the labourers in the Rifle Works at Enfield; he started Mass at St. Albans and Waltham-Cross, where as yet there was no possibility of establishing missions. These were outside works, but, when in 1859 Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop Grant made an investigation into the state of the College, the Bishop agreed with his Metropolitan that "Father Vaughan had been the preservation of the discipline." And an interesting account communicated by Bishop Fenton—then a student at St. Edmund's—preserves for us the impression he made on the students and young divines, an account which fully explains his success in maintaining a satisfactory discipline, for it reveals him to us as having found a road of sympathy and goodness which led to the very centre of their young hearts.

But it is the peculiar merit of this biography that it enables us to compare the inner with the outer life of its subject, through the successive stages of his career; and so it gives us here many beautiful outpourings of a heart whose one desire was to be "intense" in the service of God.

I cannot well live without Thee and without working for Thee, and I must work *intensely*. Intensity Thou hast put into my nature, but hitherto Thou hast laid Thy weights upon it, and stayed it within very narrow limits. But I still am young and unfit for the fulfilment of my aspirations. Thou alone canst fill my insufficiency: Thou canst make Thy servant good for anything. I am poor and needy—*Ego pauper et egenus sum, Deus adjuva me.*

With such a burning desire to do great things for God, the disappointments of this first phase of his ministry must have pressed hard, indeed might have damped the enthusiasms of a less determined aspirant. But to the failure of his plans for

the College were added some heart-attacks, which he took to be intimations of the approach of death. Accordingly, his mind was turned for the moment more exclusively to thoughts of penance and retirement. If a speedy death were God's will, he accepted it willingly, but he would like to be spared somewhat longer that he might live a life of prayer and penance. "The desires," he writes, "which call me to a life of external activity are to be restrained and mortified," for "the past six months' experience has taught me that to have time for prayer, self-cultivation, and training, is the greatest grace I could have, and is more fruitful than all the years of work I have had since I have been a priest." Nor, when it appeared that his life was to be prolonged for many years, and to be actively engaged, did he ever forget these resolutions about penance and prayer—as many a subsequent entry in his papers bear witness.

But a new spiritual ambition had lately taken root in his heart. "In proportion as I saw I could do nothing at St. Edmund's in the direction I wished, the ideal of foreign missions grew upon me." The thought that so many millions were passing their lives without even hearing of Jesus Christ became, says his biographer, "an oppression" to him. Even to look at the map of Africa "brought tears to his eyes," and "on one occasion, meeting a negro in the streets, he felt an almost irresistible longing to go up and embrace him." Could not English Catholics do their part in providing apostles to some of those distant regions for which the existing missionary organizations were so sadly insufficient? Yet it seemed a hopeless project, in view of the scanty means and the many needs of the small body of Catholics in this country: and particularly hopeless for a young priest of feeble health, whose life hung on apparently by little more than a thread, and whose personal resources were inconsiderable. However, he was a man of great faith and great desires, and to such men the divine treasure-chests are always open. And so, when we pass out of London by the north, we can mark the College on the hill with its statue of St. Joseph looking down on the broad campaign, and reflect on the "intensity," to use the language of his own early desires, of the man who had the love to conceive, the faith to undertake, and the courage and determination to carry through in the face of such apparently insurmountable obstacles this many-sided work, which has by now taken its place among the recognized missionary institutions of the Catholic Church; and has its

apostolic sons gathering in the souls of pagans in the Philippines, in Uganda, in Madras, in New Zealand, in Borneo, in Labuan, in the basin of the Congo, in Kashmere, and Kafiristan. This work of St. Joseph's Society was to the last his work of predilection, and the history of the efforts by which he built it up layer by layer; of the prayers and hesitations at the outstart; of the adventurous journey across the ocean to collect money for its origination and support; of the rebuffs he received, which, so far from repelling him, gave way before his faith and prayers, and turned so often into munificent alms; of the holy recklessness with which on landing at Panama and finding that small-pox was raging, whilst the infidel Government stayed the priests from exercising their ministry, he interrupted his journey and, in defiance of the Government, visited the dying and gave them the Last Sacraments; of the poverty, amounting almost to destitution, in which he and his first novices began their life at the College, he even endangering his life by the excess of his privations—all these read quite like a romance in the pages before us.

In 1868, Dr. Herbert Vaughan took upon himself a new responsibility, and became editor of the *Tablet*, which he purchased at a moderate sum from its previous editor and proprietor, Mr. John Wallis. It was a bold venture, for the times were exciting, and destined shortly to become much more exciting—for the Bull of Indiction of the Vatican Council had been published on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul of that year, and the day appointed for the opening of the Council was December 8, 1869. It was a bold venture, inspired by the purest zeal for the maintenance of Catholic truth and the vindication of the Holy See, at a time when both were being fiercely and ruthlessly assailed not only by foes but even by friends. Still the task of a Catholic editor at such a time of crisis required a judicial calmness, and a tact and delicacy of language, which the very fervour of his loyalty rendered difficult. Into this question, however, we must not enter, nor is it necessary, as Mr. Snead-Cox in narrating the history has passed a fair and discriminating judgment on its various episodes.

In 1871 Dr. Herbert Vaughan's editorial work was interrupted by a journey to the Southern States of North America, whither he was conducting his first band of missionaries, that he might use the opportunity to understand better the problem of evangelizing the negroes. On his return, the course of

events necessitated the permanent abandonment of the editorship, though the proprietorship was retained. For in July, 1872, Bishop Turner, of Salford, died, and on October 16th following Herbert Vaughan received the Brief which nominated him to that see. Mr. Snead-Cox has found little in the private papers which tells us of the feelings with which he received the news of his elevation, but seventeen years previously he had written in his diary: "I ask not for great ecclesiastical distinction and those honours which are esteemed, all I ask is to do great and good things for Your honour in England;" and we cannot doubt that this was how he felt now when the choice of the Holy See fell upon him. He might have preferred to remain where he was at Mill Hill, but the Brief made it clear that God's will was for him to do the great and good things he desired in the discharge of his episcopal office at Salford. And so, characteristically, he took the Brief and laid it first on the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, then in the hands of the statue of the Immaculate Virgin, and finally at the feet of the statue of Joseph, in each case taking it back as from them. Moreover, we cannot read the maxims and rules he drew out for himself in those early days without feeling that it was the charge, not the honour, which appealed to him, and that he meant to follow the highest standards in his execution of it.

It was Cardinal Manning who had suggested his name to the Chapter, and there was some feeling at the time against the choice of a southerner for this north-country see. But the selection was excellent, as the result showed. It would not be true to say that he infused life into his people, for life is not a quality which is ever deficient in a Lancashire community. But they needed a leader, and their new Bishop was just the man to lead them. Like themselves he was full of life and activity, and there was a downrightness in his character which accorded well with their own. So they quickly took him to their hearts, and made a splendid response to his many exacting demands on their generosity and devotedness; and he in turn gave his heart to them. "Never in his busiest days in Westminster," says his biographer, "did Cardinal Vaughan forget the flock he had left in Salford. He was fond of speaking of himself as a Lancashire Bishop, and always thought the Lancashire people the salt of the English earth." The time had been when he could say in his prayers, "Intensity Thou hast put into my nature, but hitherto Thou hast laid Thy weights

upon it and stayed it within very narrow limits." But there were no weights upon it now. Rather, aspiring as he was, a sphere of activity was opening out to him which must strain all his fibres. So he looked around, and almost in one glance took in the requirements of his important diocese. His predecessor had made a good provision of parochial schools, which perhaps was all that could be expected of the first holder of the see. But in other respects the diocese was poorly provided with institutions, a deficiency for which it could no longer be reproached twenty years later when he was called away to Westminster. Several chapters in this biography are occupied with describing his various schemes for reform and development, but we must confine ourselves to one or two features which marked this all-embracing activity, and reflect the character of his personality.

In the first place his independence of judgment was very noticeable. We may imagine that Cardinal Manning in obtaining his appointment anticipated that he would in almost every respect proceed on the lines to which he himself attached primary importance. But it soon began to appear that this was not to be. Cardinal Manning, whose conceptions were sadly wanting in intermediate tones, was satisfied with no rules of temperance which fell short of Teetotalism. Bishop Vaughan, only three days after his consecration, with Manning on his right and Mgr. Nugent on his left, declared from a public platform that he did not share that extreme view: "It will never do," he said, "to divide the world into teetotalism and reprobates. We must leave some room in the world for people who are temperate. It is a faulty classification which leaves out the majority of the people." For Manning again the establishment of diocesan seminaries in accordance with the law of Trent—that is, its own for each diocese—was a matter of fundamental importance. For Vaughan it appeared disastrous in a Protestant country like England, where the small number of the clergy does not permit of separate Seminaries being adequately stocked and staffed. Nor was his foundation of a Pastoral Seminary attached to St. John's Cathedral inconsistent with these views, for that was not a Seminary in the ordinary sense, but one in which the new supplies of young priests, who had been trained for the diocese in colleges abroad or elsewhere in England, might learn to know one another, and be initiated under favourable circumstances

to the exercise of their pastoral duties. Another noticeable feature about his activity at Salford was the success with which he was able at all times to collect such large funds for one undertaking after another as it issued from his teeming brain. In the chapter on his *Characteristics* in the second volume, Mr. Snead-Cox tells us what will be a surprise to many, namely, that he found begging to be "hateful work" and would sometimes walk up and down in front of a house nerving himself to the disagreeable task of entering and asking for an alms. On the other hand, he had that simple faith in God and the efficacy of prayer that seldom fails to get its answer. It is this which explains the apparent ease with which, as previously when begging in America for St. Joseph's Society, or afterwards in London for the Cathedral and other objects, so here at Salford, on behalf of his Pastoral Seminary, St. Bede's College, or his Rescue Crusade, he obtained sums which must at the first have seemed altogether impossible. From his priests alone, who were certainly far from comfortably off, at the meeting he called to broach to them the idea of the Pastoral Seminary, he got £2,400. It was natural that he should be intensely distressed when at length, after he had been a decade or more in the diocese, it dawned on him how fearful was the leakage of Catholic children due to the evil practices of Protestant proselytizers. But only the sensitiveness of his conscience and his deep humility could explain his taking the blame upon himself, as though it were a serious fault, for not having sooner discovered what was going on. What others saw in him was the devotedness which carried through, as perhaps no one else could have done, a campaign against the evil which ended, if not in extinguishing it altogether, at all events in considerably reducing its proportions at Salford, besides setting an example which has since been taken up by other dioceses. In previous periods of his life we have seen what stress Bishop Vaughan laid on prayer and other exercises of the interior life. His notes, as we have said, do not abound for this period of his life, but the little peeps into it that we do get show how true and generous it was.

Those who lived with him at St. Bede's always thought that somehow, in spite of all his multifarious activities, the Bishop found more time for prayer than any priest in the diocese. . . . During the course of the day he would visit the Blessed Sacrament several times. Supper was over at 7.30, and he went to the chapel with the other

priests, and when after five or ten minutes they would leave to go to various duties, he would stay. And when, at 10.15, some of the priests used to return to make a farewell visit for the night, it was a common sight to see Herbert Vaughan still there on his knees.

And yet he could feel doubts whether this was enough, and was not satisfied till he had humbly taken the opinion of the Father under whom he made one of his retreats at Stonyhurst, as to whether he ought not to cut another half-hour out of the morning for prayer.

It must be our task in a second article to follow this biography into the last and most important period of Herbert Vaughan's life. But, meanwhile, we can feel that, whatever further confirmation of the same judgment the second volume may bring, the first has already vindicated the Cardinal's memory from the misconstructions put upon it by those who have overlooked what Mr. Snead-Cox truly calls essential qualities of his character—its romance, its tenderness, its strange humility, its utter unworldliness, its high spirituality.

But there is one more point to which a word of allusion is necessary in the present article, for it was during his time at Salford that Bishop Vaughan was twice brought into conflict with the Society of Jesus; first over the proposed opening of a Jesuit day-school at Manchester, then over the more general question of defining the relations between Bishops and Regulars, which issued, in 1881, in the publication of the Bull *Romanos Pontifices*. It might be expected that THE MONTH would wish to have its say on the mode in which these questions are presented in the pages before us. That, however, is the very last thing we should wish to do. Possibly the effect of a narrative which is necessarily based on the accounts of one side only may be to convey an impression that the case for the other side was so grossly unreasonable as to be unintelligible. But it would serve no good purpose to oppose another view of the case, now that the question has been satisfactorily settled, and all these years have passed. And this the more because Mr. Snead-Cox, who could not have omitted the episode, has treated it in an admirably tactful and conciliatory manner. Moreover, Bishop Vaughan himself, in his reply to the address presented to him by his Chapter on his return from Rome in 1881, put the point as neatly as it could well be put. Certain questions of jurisdiction and discipline, some of which had their

roots in the conditions of past centuries, had arisen and led to inevitable misunderstandings which both the Bishops and the Regulars were glad to have settled for ever. It remains to add that, whereas even during the heat of the dispute the personal relations between the Bishop and the English Jesuits were cordial, the Jesuits ever after found in him a warm and trusted friend; and it was not only to their delight, but even at their solicitation, that Father General Martín wrote to him when he was now Cardinal Archbishop the letter of grateful acknowledgment which is given in vol. ii. p. 25 of the biography.

"The Life of Cardinal Vaughan."

II.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

Reprinted from "The Month," August, 1910.

"The Life of General Jackson"

BY JAMES M. COOK

"The Life of Cardinal Vaughan."

II.

CARDINAL MANNING died on January 14, 1892. Bishop Herbert Vaughan was with him in his last hours. "It has been a great consolation to me," he wrote to the present Bishop of Salford, "to help my old friend of forty-one years to die. From 4 a.m. to 7.30 the time was spent in ejaculatory prayers." It had been a bitter distress to the older man that the younger should have felt constrained to differ from him over some of his most cherished ideas, still, could the older man have had the selection of his successor, it was not doubtful that he would have selected the younger. Indeed, Bishop Vaughan was the obvious man for the post, as things then were, and the Chapter of Westminster, with the approval of the Bishops of the Province, placed his name at the head of the *terna* they sent up to Rome. Meanwhile, he himself, after seeking to pass a calm and impartial judgment on his personal qualifications for the office, took an adverse view, and decided that no time should be lost in submitting his remonstrances to the Holy See.

A person [he wrote to Leo XIII.] may succeed in the subordinate position of a Bishop in a provincial city such as Manchester, and yet be very unfit to be Metropolitan and fill the See of Westminster. The duties are altogether of a different order, and they require altogether different qualifications. I do not possess these higher qualifications, and feeling convinced of this I should be risking my own peace of mind and the salvation of my soul were I not, upon the first opportunity, to press this consideration upon the mind of your Holiness. The See of Westminster ought to be occupied by a Bishop distinguished for some gift of superior learning or remarkable sanctity, for he ought to be commended to the Church and to the people of England (for whose conversion he may be able to do more than any one else) by some manifest superiority or excellence. Holy Father, it is no mock modesty or fashion of speech which makes the confession that I have no qualification of learning for such a post. I do not excel as a preacher, an author, a theologian, a philosopher, or even as a classical

scholar. Whatever I may be in these matters, in none am I above a poor mediocrity. It will be very easy in such a position as the See of Westminster to compromise the interests of religion in England by errors of judgment—and the very quality of a certain tenacity and determination would make these errors still more serious. As to the other characteristic, sanctity of life, which often makes up for intellectual shortcomings, I will only say this, that no one will have been so blind as to have said that I possess this compensating degree of holiness.

That these words were truly the expression of no "mock modesty," but of the genuine feelings of a really humble man, can be doubted by none who knew Herbert Vaughan intimately, or have pondered over the disclosures from his private diaries in this biography. Still, when the Holy See ratified the choice of the Chapter and the Bishops, he illustrated another side of his character by the firm trust in Divine aid which made him enter on his onerous office with a calm and easy confidence.

In such matters as the nomination to a share in the Apostolate God makes known His Divine will through the appointed channel of His Church. When the discipline and law of the Church have been faithfully served; when the clergy of the diocese and the Virgins consecrated to God, and the whole Catholic flock have persevered in prayer; and finally, when the Vicar of Jesus Christ has deliberately made up his mind and declared that the lot has fallen on such an one—we may then believe with confidence that the great Prince of Shepherds has Himself made known His choice and His will. The feeble instrument thus elected becomes at once clothed with an official character, and his personality becomes merged and lost in his representative position. He becomes strong because his feet are planted upon a divine foundation, because his back is placed against the impregnable Rock. His course is made clear to him because he is under the patronage of Peter, the Fisherman of the world. As to what seas he shall traverse, and with what winds and weather, that is the affair of God. God will use him as an instrument according to His will, if only he be not unfaithful.

These two passages deserve to be brought together as evidencing how fully Herbert Vaughan had grasped the truth first enunciated by St. Paul, that strength must be perfected out of weakness in the leaders of Christ's people; or, to put it otherwise, how fully he had inherited that double spirit of self-distrust and trust in God which has enabled those leaders, from the Apostles downwards, to accomplish the stupendous

marvel of the Church's planting, growth, progress, and tenacity of life, in defiance of the ordinary laws of human caducity.

His appointment to the Archbishopric was signified to him at the end of March, but he did not transfer his residence to Westminster till May. The interval was of course employed in winding up his affairs at Salford and taking leave, but during it he was also busy in forming his plans for the future, and the boldness with which he conceived them affords us a further commentary on his words which we have just quoted. On this point Mr. Snead-Cox—who, it must be remembered, was his cousin—gives the following interesting account of a conversation he had with the new Archbishop, who had telegraphed to him to be at King's Cross on the day of his arrival in London. It was in the early afternoon, and not being expected at Archbishop's House till later, he invited his cousin to have a chat with him. After giving his luggage to the porter, he led the way to the broad drive in front of the Midland Station Hotel, where they walked up and down together for the best of two hours.

The whole time he talked eagerly and earnestly, pouring out his hopes and plans and fears. They were all based on the assumption that he might live for perhaps another ten years. He felt that was an outside estimate, and that the term of his active life would probably be shorter. But whether it were longer or shorter he meant that it should be filled with service. He was so full of his subject, had all the work he meant to do, and did do, so clearly mapped out, he seemed to take such a pleasure in building up his own project into words, that I was able for the most part to be a listener. I have often wondered since at the method and perseverance with which the words of that afternoon were redeemed in the years that followed. His scheme for a Central Seminary, his plans for bringing clergy and laity together, the Catholic Social Union, the Society of the Ladies of Charity, and, above all, Westminster Cathedral, were all put forward as so many things to be accomplished. When he told me he meant to build a great Cathedral I received the news in a silence of dismay. People are always so quick to say, "*Ut quid perditio hæc?*" when money is lavished on bricks and mortar, and I thought the task of collecting the money hopelessly beyond his strength. He admitted the difficulty of doing the thing, but preferred to dwell upon the importance of getting it done. He was sure that the revival of the Catholic Church in England had reached a point in its development when the restoration of the life of the Cathedral was a necessity. And he looked to a Cathedral not only as necessary for the perfection of the liturgy and worship of the Church, but also as the centre of all Catholic life and

activity. He had no money for building a Cathedral, but was confident that the Catholics of England would come to his help if only the right appeal were made to their hearts.

Thus prepared he entered upon his Westminster life, nor was it long before he began to give evidence of the enormous vitality that was to ensure success to so many bold undertakings. The first instance of this was the impressive function at the Oratory on August 16, 1892, which he arranged to give solemnity to his reception of the pallium. It is more usual for new Archbishops to go themselves to Rome to obtain from the Pope's own hands and bring back with them these insignia of their archiepiscopal jurisdiction. This had been the course followed by the first two Archbishops of Westminster, as by the great majority of their predecessors at Canterbury and York before the Reformation. But there were precedents for the opposite course, and Archbishop Vaughan, relying on these, asked Pope Leo to let his pallium be brought over by a special envoy. His object was to draw public attention to the ceremony as symbolizing the unity of the Church round its centre at Rome, as well as to the antiquity and unbroken continuity of its use in Catholic England. For the pallium symbolizes, as the words of investiture with which it is given declare, that the power of jurisdiction over Bishops,—which is what moulds them into an organized unity throughout the world—is, as an inherent right of his see, the exclusive prerogative of the Bishop of Rome; and that, if the Bishops of certain other sees have a limited but recognized jurisdiction over their suffragans, it is only because they have received a partial derivation of authority from the plenitude of that Apostolic prerogative. And this pallium was sought and received, with acknowledgment that this was its meaning and import, by every English Catholic Archbishop from St. Augustine downwards. To Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B., whose words are given in the biography, was entrusted the task of bringing out these theological and historical facts; and there can be no doubt that the effect was to familiarize many Englishmen with an aspect of the continuity question they had previously overlooked.

As this ceremony of receiving the pallium was the first of a series of remarkable functions which formed a distinctive feature in Herbert Vaughan's administration of the metropolitan see—functions in presiding over which, especially after he had been made a Cardinal, he presented a very striking appear-

ance—this is a suitable place for a remark on the motives which induced him to organize them on so splendid a scale. Englishmen enjoy witnessing displays of this sort, but they are always prone to impute motives of pride and ambition when they see the principal figures in them clothed in gorgeous vestments. That was an impression concerning Cardinal Vaughan which prevailed among outsiders to the Catholic religion, but which has been effectually falsified by the evidence of the private documents published in this biography. He was too sensible a man to care for these outward trappings on their account, and too humble to regard his own relation to them as other than that of a mere lay-figure. But these things have their fitting and useful place in Church as in State life, for they give vivid expression to the important ideas that underlie them, and it was for this that he attached a value to them. He felt, and felt very strongly, that he had a mission to the English people generally, to set the claims of the Catholic Church before them, and to correct the false ideas of its history and doctrines in which they had been brought up. He might or might not succeed by this means in influencing many or few—that concerned their consciences and God's providence. His duty was to bear the witness, and he would bear it as fearlessly and as openly as possible. Others might have hesitated to give such publicity, for instance, to the renovation of the old English vow by which the country was dedicated to our Blessed Lady. It must needs scandalize a people which will never allow itself to see our point about devotion to Mary—why then provoke them? But that way of judging did not appeal to Cardinal Vaughan's mind. For him the intercession of Mary, and the benefits to men that flow from it, was a very real fact indeed, and ought to be emphasized, not hidden—whatever a large section of the people might think or say of it. Indeed, if they were irritated, was that altogether an evil? If what you say or do in setting forth the truth raises an outcry, it shows that your idea has penetrated into many minds, and, this indispensable pre-requisite being attained, it may take root in some minds with the best results. It was thus he would reason, and from the same motives he would defend the over-drastring and perhaps not too felicitous terms he sometimes employed in describing the beliefs or practices of others. The present writer remembers a conversation with his Eminence in which he very decidedly advocated drastic speaking for this reason. Yet no one who

knew him could imagine for a moment that any bitterness of feeling, or even defect of kindness of feeling, had prompted his language.

Mr. Snead-Cox has allotted special chapters to various measures which he took or promoted in his character as Archbishop—for the Education of the Priest, of the Layman, of the Children of the Poor; for the Reunion of Christendom, for the Rescue Society, for the building of Westminster Cathedral. These did not exhaust his activity, but the omission of similar chapters on his interest in the Catholic Truth Society, the Council of Temporal Administration, the Converts' Aid Society, the Catholic Social Union, the Catholic Evidence Lectures, the Ladies of Charity, is excused on the plea that the book is a biography of the Cardinal, and not a history of the diocese. Perhaps a better plea would have been the necessity of keeping the book within reasonable limits, conjoined with the fact that his part in some of these was not so direct. Still, the mention of them was necessary, as showing how many-sided was his solicitude.

Since in this, as in the former article, our chief interest is in the personality of the Cardinal rather than in his works, we must be content to comment on the latter only so far as they throw light on his character, or tend to his vindication. His action in regard to the University question affords an example of this. He had not been long in the See of Westminster when the question of permitting Catholic youths to go to Oxford and Cambridge was revived. Cardinal Manning had, as every one knows, set his face resolutely against the practice, and Bishop Vaughan, as he then was, was deeply committed to the same attitude. Hence it might have been expected that he would show the utmost resistance to those of the laity who, now that Manning was in his grave, made an earnest appeal to their new Archbishop to reconsider the whole question in the light of the favourable reports received from competent and trustworthy witnesses, as to the religious and moral character of those young men who had, in fact, made their studies at one or other of the two Universities. But from his letter to Leo XIII. deprecating his translation to the more exalted see, we have seen how anxious he was lest a "certain tenacity and determination of which he was conscious should render still more serious the errors of judgment in matters of grave import to the Church to which he is liable." The result was to make him

unusually ready to go back on past measures as soon as he was convinced that this was needed.

And yet [says his biographer] when Cardinal Vaughan came to face the problem as Metropolitan he approached it without prejudice. No man was ever less hampered by his own past. He had given himself so utterly to the cause he served that there was no room for such poor irrelevances as questions of personal consistency. What was best for the spiritual welfare of these youths? Nothing else mattered, and least of all whether this party or that could claim a victory, or this or that prelate must confess that for a quarter of a century he had been fighting the inevitable and committing the Church in England to a policy that was as short-sighted as it was futile.

Accordingly, he reconsidered this University problem with a thoroughly open mind, and then laying his reasons before Leo XIII. obtained his sanction for an arrangement under which Catholic young men have since attended the old English Universities and obtained distinction there, not only without loss of faith, but with great advantage to their faith and zeal, as well as to the formation of their minds.

We are not tied in any way to the order of time, and it will be in place to refer here to another signal instance Cardinal Vaughan gave of his preparedness to retract, when duty required it, with utter disregard for that *amour propre* which strongly influences the majority of public men when similarly situated. Absorbed as he was in the one idea of overcoming the difficulties of transferring what he understood to be the body of St. Edmund the Martyr from Toulouse to his new Cathedral at Westminster, he somewhat precipitately overlooked the need of first inquiring into the genuineness of this famous relic. The secrecy with which, lest opposition to the transfer should be aroused in France, the relics were brought over to this country, prevented the Catholic experts from expressing themselves on the critical question till the fact of the transfer had been publicly announced and gloried over. Then came some letters to the press, and finally one from Sir Ernest Clarke to the *Times*, which made it clear that these relics, as late as the sixteenth century, had been deemed at Toulouse itself to be those not of St. Edmund, the King of East Anglia, but of "St. Aymund, confessor to [some unnamed] King of England"; and clear, also, that the relics of St. Edmund were at Bury up to a date long posterior to that at which the legend declared them to have been stolen from Bury and trans-

ported to France. The publication of this evidence came as a surprise to the Cardinal, who was not, and did not claim to be, capable of an expert judgment. What was he to do? It was suggested to him to appoint a Commission of inquiry, and at first he inclined to take this course.

But when he retired for the night, Herbert Vaughan sat down with Sir Ernest Clarke's letter before him. He was alone with the truth. When he rose from reading it, it was with a new resolve. Was it right to shuffle on to a Commission a responsibility that was his own? Was not the appointment of a Commission a suggestion that he himself was still in doubt? The reasoning in Sir Ernest Clarke's letter seemed irresistible, and the Cardinal accepted it. It was a moment of difficulty. If it had been a question of "saving his own face" there would have been no hesitation; but he had to think of his friends in Toulouse who had given their treasure to him, and he had to think of the authorities in Rome. He thought of it all, long and anxiously, but when the dawn came it found him with his mind made up. He would not pretend that he was waiting for the verdict of a Commission when he knew already. He was satisfied that the bones were not the bones of an English martyr, and he would say so.

And this is what he did say at the Newcastle Conference, thereby giving not unnatural offence to the Toulouse people, but earning the respect of all lovers of truth.

In the light of the subsequent history of the Elementary Schools' question Cardinal Vaughan has often been blamed for the course he took in pressing for rate-aid to Voluntary Schools. He was warned at the time—for instance, by the Catholic Chief Inspector, Mr. Scott Nasmyth Stokes, in a letter given by Mr. Snead-Cox—that, if once rate-aid was accepted, the inevitable consequence must be that the owners of Voluntary Schools would lose the right to control the religious teaching given, which was the very object for which they were built. Yet he had disregarded the warning, and taken a prominent part in shaping the system introduced by the Act of 1902. Do not our present troubles and our anxieties for the future show how well-founded was the warning, how disastrous the fruits of its neglect? But the pages in this volume allotted to the subject show what grounds he had for his action in the conditions of the time. In the North it might have been possible to keep up the old system for some time longer, in the teeth of the increasing pressure of the Education Office on the funds of the Voluntary subscribers, but in the South there must very soon have been a

break-down. The Act of 1902 at least saved the Catholic schools for a longer period, and besides enabled them to acquire a position which is now generally acknowledged to necessitate their being preserved in the legislation of the future.

Another episode in his career, his supposed action in which drew down upon him much misjudgment, was that of the movement for reconsidering the question of Anglican Orders. Lord Halifax, it will be remembered, had met at Madeira a French priest, and had interested him deeply with his account of the striking transformation of belief and feeling in a Catholic direction which had come in recent years over one large section of the Anglican communion. All pointed to a Corporate Reunion between the two Churches at no distant date, but a distressing clog in the wheels of this consolatory movement, strange to say, was to be found in the hostility of the English Roman Catholics, who persistently misrepresented its character, and sought only to exploit it for the gaining over of individual proselytes. We must not complain of Lord Halifax for so stating the case, for it is a matter of common knowledge that his policy (if we may describe it by so secular a term) is, if in part founded on misapprehension, directed to the highest ends and inspired by the purest motives. Still, the effect on a foreign ecclesiastic, who knew nothing of the "ins" and "outs," the shades and tones, of English religious life, was unfortunate, for he took up warmly the idea that the English Catholic authorities were impeding a good work, and that it was his duty to check this mischief by bringing the true state of the case under the notice of influential Catholics abroad, and if possible under that of the Holy See. Accordingly, he paid a visit to England, was introduced to prominent High Churchmen, taken to see their churches, convents, and institutions, and went back confirmed in the views he had imbibed. In due course he convinced several French and other ecclesiastics, among them scholars of high repute such as Mgr. Duchesne and Mgr. Gasparri. The result was that he was invited to Rome, and had an audience from Leo XIII. and left him deeply impressed. The Holy Father quite took up the idea that the English Catholic authorities had missed a great opportunity by the harsh tone towards Anglicans which had become habitual to them; and he formed the project of taking the control of the matter into his own hands; he would begin by writing to the Anglican Archbishops, and might then

undertake a re-examination of Anglican Orders, which had been suggested to him as a desirable starting-point for a movement of reconciliation.

This was the crisis with which Cardinal Vaughan found himself confronted in the years 1894-96, and he had no difficulty in recognizing its seriousness. Corporate Reunion as a proximate eventuality was a chimera, indeed, the Cardinal felt that "it would never be till after the Last Judgment;" for the Anglican party had no thought of accepting it in the only way feasible, by the submission of a united clergy and people to the full claims of the Apostolic See, and of all the doctrines it teaches. Thus the one practical effect of any response to their wishes which did not take the form of the utmost plain speaking would be to encourage waverers to remain where they were, instead of consulting the welfare of their souls by personal submission. What wonder that Cardinal Vaughan, cordially as he appreciated the yearning of so many good people for the reunion of Christendom, should have felt that the responsibility lay on him to explain to Pope Leo the real state of High Anglican thought, and the danger of his saying anything which might encourage illusions? How he did this has been clearly set down in the biography, and the history should serve to vindicate the purity of his motives, and the utter absence of the bitterness and controversial hostility which were so freely imputed to him.

It is probably as the builder of Westminster Cathedral that the outside world knows him best and will continue to remember him the longest. As a noble piece of architecture it testifies to the singular courage and energy which collected the necessary funds and brought the work to completion within so short a time, as well as to the wise choice and loyal support of an architect of striking genius; but still more, as the story told by Mr. Snead-Cox abundantly proves, does it testify to the efficacy of a strong faith such as is seldom found in these unbelieving days, a faith of which it is not excessive to say that it was of the sort that moves mountains. It is a subject—this of the Cathedral we have already learnt to love—on which it would be pleasant to dwell, but we must pass it over with much else of deep interest contained in this second volume; for we must turn, at least briefly, to the records of the inner life, which in this, as in the first volume, enable us to attain to so complete an insight into the Cardinal's personality.

There are many precious documents and testimonies of this class in the second volume, and we can learn from them how steadily he advanced along the spiritual path he chose for himself in his earlier years. Most of these are brought together in the two chapters on "Characteristics" and "Inner Life," but one which is given towards the beginning of the volume may perhaps be taken as indicating the spirit in which he took up his work at Westminster.

Aug. 1st. Every interior grace produces generosity, sympathy, and love of souls. My grace of continual prayer when alone, and when silent in the midst of company, at dinner, &c., ought to produce this gentleness, sympathy, and love of souls. . . . He cannot possibly refuse to hear the prayers which he has made continual—the desire that grows stronger day by day, *Discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde*. . . . I have been many years learning this lesson, and now only I understand it in a vivid and practical manner. *Meekness with self*—gently forcing my sloth and weariness into continuous action; *meekness with self* which will not permit despondency at feeling my own shortcomings and want of power; *meekness* under the sense of fatigue and worn-out feelings. *Meekness with others*; priests, poor, and every one, in words, in manner, in conduct and deeds. *Meekness towards God's providence*—as shown in the circumstances around me, in the trials and sufferings He may send or permit, in the spiritual action of God on my soul. And all this is to be coupled with humility—humility deeper than hitherto—constant digging down for deep foundations.

Here are some points which show us what he desired to be, whence he sought for the strength to attain, how conscious he was of just the defects people imputed to him, and how deeply anxious to overcome them. As we read these words of intimate self-examination must we not agree with his biographer that they "seem to lift the veil for a moment and enable us to see, not the 'haughty prelate,' but the very human heart of the man." Nor, after all that we can now know of his life, outer and inner, can we fail to recognize that his self-set standard was a standard realized in a truly remarkable degree. Be it conceded that he sometimes fell short of his ideals, that he was at times cold and brusque in manner, and overlooked cases which should have excited his sympathy. He was his own accuser for some such instances of which we know, and was also, we may be sure, for many more of which we do not know. If we wish to reproach him for these, he has himself supplied us with terms of censure stronger than we should wish to use.

We shall not forget, however, that whilst it is in strivings rather than achievements that the heart of a man—the heart which our Lord asks of him—consists, and that strivings are often the most earnest where achievements are the least perfect. Nor shall we suspect of cold-heartedness the man whose acts of delicate kindness were so numerous, and whose whole life was consecrated by a burning zeal to the service of others.

The passage just quoted from his spiritual notes reveals to us his desire to dig deep down for foundations of humility, and the reality of his humility impressed all those who enjoyed his intimacy. Mr. Snead-Cox bears his own testimony when he tells us that from the very beginning of his acquaintance with him, he came to the conclusion that "he was one of the most genuinely humble men I had ever met," an "impression which grew," he says, "as I knew him better." And again "he was the only person I ever had to deal with who thought his contributions to a newspaper were improved by editorial attentions." That was a rare example of intellectual humility, nor is Mr. Snead-Cox the only witness who could testify to the like. An example of humility of another kind is supplied by the story of his distress when it came to his ears that his tendency to rush through ecclesiastical ceremonies was giving scandal.

Very shortly after I had joined his service in 1895 [writes Mgr. Dunn], we were in Rome at the English College, when one morning he suddenly called me into his room. He was evidently much distressed and I wondered what could have occurred. He told me in all simplicity that he had come to realize how much scandal and disedification he had caused by being too hasty and impatient at public functions. I endeavoured to pass the matter off, and said that I did not think any scandal had been taken—although his hastiness had given rise to the nickname of the "scarlet-runner." But tears welled up in his eyes, and before he had completed his self-accusation he completely broke down. He ended by charging me in virtue of obedience to check him at once if ever I saw him manifesting impatience in the future. I was deeply impressed, but I need not say that I never had occasion to carry out what he had enjoined upon me. . . . It must be remembered that at the time I was little more than a boy who had been in his service less than a year.

Of all the features of his interior life the most remarkable was his love of prayer, and the time he gave to it. The outside world had no knowledge of this, and, though it was well known to his friends, even they perhaps hardly suspected the degree to which the practice was carried, until the gathering in of testimonies from divers quarters revealed it.

It was his custom [writes Father Considine] to spend an hour every night in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, and he spent it chiefly in loving intercourse with Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. He would address himself to our Lord, to our Lady, and to our Lord's Foster-Father, singly or all together, and say out to them with reverence, but without embarrassment, whatever was in his heart. He would make acts of contrition, of thanksgiving, of confidence, of love. He would implore the Divine protection and favour, and ask for guidance in all his doubts through the intercession of the Virgin Mother and her Spouse. But that which occupied him for the greater part of the time, and which he never found to pall, was a repetition of an act of profound self-abasement, composed by himself in terms most wounding to his self-love, recalling his many offences against the Divine Majesty, and declaring his own utter vileness and emptiness of all good. When the hour was ended he would on his knees ask the blessing of the Holy Family for himself and all his work, as in the days of his childhood he begged his parents' blessing before retiring to rest.

Mr. Longueville writes of his visits to Llanforda :

Never have I known any priest to spend so much time in the chapel before the Blessed Sacrament as did Cardinal Vaughan. As long as he had that he wanted nothing else. In my humble and uncomfortable little iron chapel, and like other iron chapels, very hot in summer and very cold in winter, he used to spend hours. . . . His one want was to kneel or sit before the Blessed Sacrament, generally without any book in his hand and for as long a time as was available from necessary duties.

Lady Edmund Talbot tells a similar tale of his stays at Derwent Hall, and Mr. Grisewood of his stays at Grasse, whilst Mgr. Dunn, who as his private secretary accompanied him frequently on his journeys, tells how, whatever the discomforts of the road or the fatigues of the journey, he found time for prayer many times in the day, and often in the night—one striking instance of which he cites by way of illustration. Nor was his prayer confined to stated hours. During the intervals of conversation at the dinner-table, whilst in his carriage driving to some service or other appointment, his lips moved in frequent aspiration. In short, his heart was in Heaven, and was afflicted when the things of earth drew him away from this its sweetest attraction.

It is impossible [he wrote in his diary for September 24, 1896] for me to go voluntarily into social gatherings in country houses where guests, feasts, and frivolities prevail, often too, in my honour as chief guest. Why? Because I am intent on the *Stabat Mater* and all it contains of faith, love, and sorrow. Because I am the father of millions

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of souls in London who are living in sin and are being hurried towards Hell. These are souls I ought to be working to rescue through prayer and solitude and an active apostolate. Then there are multitudes of Catholics who are spiritually dead, ill, or miserable. To be thoroughly devoted to all this work, and to be immersed in all their sorrows, needs all the time I can spare to be with them and with God.

But to come to his last days which were spent at Mill Hill, amidst the sons whose vocation lay so close to his heart. The account given of it by Mr. Snead-Cox is as moving as it is simple. Herbert Vaughan's dying was in fitting sequence with his living, but there is just one incident in it in the narrating of which, beautiful as the incident is, and, to those whose experience enables them to read it aright, exhibiting his strong faith glorious as the rainbow set against the dark cloud, undiscerning readers may find only the story of a faith which failed in the hour of crisis.

In the spirit of obedience to his medical advisers he had taken an opiate, a thing for which he had a great dislike, and of which he said to his brother in reference to this occasion, "Never take that horrid stuff: its effect on the mind is terrible." It had overpowered him with a sense of depression and unhinged him. The feelings thus engendered temptation used as its instrument. It is what is apt to happen in similar hours of weakness. But temptation is not the negation of faith; it is the assailant of faith, with which faith has often to fight hard battles, and in overcoming which it achieves its triumph. It is in such a struggle and such a triumph that we must see the true inwardness of this painful but edifying incident.

This agitating trial and triumph took place on the very day of his death in the early afternoon. The day before he had discharged the last official duty of a Catholic Bishop. With the scarlet hat on his head, and the scarlet *cappa magna* thrown over his shoulders, as the ritual prescribes, he had been wheeled into the church, to the front of the sanctuary. In the presence of his Chapter, of the college community, of his brothers, and some few friends, the solemn Profession of Faith was read in his name by Mgr. Johnson, who then carried it with the Book of the Gospels and laid it before him. Then, "with the voice of a man who was already half in the grave," he spoke in strange staccato utterance his last words to his flock.

After concluding this rite, which so far as human intelligence can foresee is the last public act of my life, I wish to ask pardon of all whom I have offended or scandalized through hastiness, or want of

judgment or care in the carrying out of my important post in the ministry. I attach no value to my humble endeavours or public undertakings to which people might attribute any importance. I place no confidence in anything which, in the eyes of the world, may recommend me to its consideration. All I have done has been done solely for this end—the glory of God, whose poor instrument I have been in all these works. They have been carried out by me merely as an instrument, and must necessarily be full of imperfections. I rely entirely on the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ and on the intercession of His Holy Mother, St. Joseph, and the Apostles, especially St. Peter. I ask you to remember me when I am beyond this world, and shall want all the help my soul may stand in need of. I trust in God, I love Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, and Peter.

When Herbert Vaughan first learnt that he was the choice of the Chapter and Bishops for the See of Westminster, he begged the Holy Father to pass him over as manifestly undistinguished either for any gift of superior learning or by remarkable sanctity. When his prayer for release was disregarded, and he mounted his new throne for the first time, after eulogizing his two predecessors, he accounted for his appointment to succeed them on the ground that it was inevitable that the turn of smaller men should come. Yet, as we look back on those nine years of archiepiscopal rule, we cannot but feel that, if in many respects different from his predecessors, he was by no means unworthy to be classed with them. He may have been inferior to them in literary gifts, though if the excellences of a good style are unpretentious simplicity, directness, lucidity, and force, he had these qualities. He may have been inferior to them in intellectual power and erudition, yet, though his active life left him little time for reading, he quickly seized with an intelligent grasp the points of a subject, intellectual and practical, when it was brought to his notice. In administration, surely, he was as suited to his time as his predecessors were to theirs. He came to the diocese at a time when it needed rousing, and he roused it effectually; not merely by the multiplication of schemes and institutions which his intense vitality suggested to him, but by quickening the spirit of clergy and laity which had become somewhat torpid. And as regards holiness of life, we shall all agree after pondering over what these two volumes have unfolded to our view, that he had it in a fulness which cannot have failed to bring an abundant blessing on his episcopate, even as it has left us with the inheritance of a bright example for which we shall all be the richer.

The Life of Cardinal Newman.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

Reprinted from "The Month," February, 1912.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST



By kind permission of Messrs. Longmans

Photograph by Fr. Anthony Pollen

THE CARDINAL IN HIS LAST YEAR

The Life of Cardinal Newman.

WE have had to wait long for Mr. Wilfrid Ward's *Life of Cardinal Newman*, but now that it is in our hands we must feel that the time taken in preparing it has not been excessive, considering the enormous amount of materials which had to be collected and examined, and the careful thought which must have been required to arrive at a just interpretation of its purport, and then present the result in a vivid and convincing form. When we have had time to digest these two big volumes, we shall need to say more about them, but they have only just reached us, and for the moment we must be content to record a few first impressions. Mr. Ward's task was a difficult one, for the Cardinal's character was very delicately chased, and its reaction was most subtle to the pressure upon it of the long series of outward events which one after another rose up to impede the accomplishment of a life mission, to which he deemed himself specially called. Then, too, it was impossible to view him apart from the other leading personalities, a strong affection for whom, born of past intimacies, still lingered, and tightened the cruel strain of present oppositions. It is a biographer's function to form estimates and pass judgments on those who tread the stage of his portion of history, yet in a case like the present, all the more after the irritation caused fifteen years ago by the inconsiderately written *Life of Cardinal Manning*, it was difficult to be impartial without inflicting pain on the surviving partizans of either side. All these difficulties, however, Mr. Ward has overcome, as it seems to us, if not completely, at all events, with remarkable success. It will be for those whose intimacy with Newman was close and continuous, to judge how far, in some particulars, this biography has estimated him correctly, but there can, we imagine, be no doubt that, as a whole, it portrays him truly and to the life. Mr. Ward has been chary of explicit judgments, preferring rather to set forth the facts and give documents, and

then let them tell their own tale of what was distinctive in the Cardinal's personality, in the objects he was pursuing, in the motives that dictated his action, adding only such explanations as were essential to a true understanding of them; doing the same for those brought into opposition to Newman, so far as his materials allowed, and throughout showing insight and sympathy, and carefully preserving himself from that temptation to pass over personal defects which is not uncommon in biographers but defeats its object by substituting thin abstractions for full-blooded realities. We should like also to express our feeling that he has carefully avoided the pitfall of reading into his interpretation of the Cardinal's mind an attitude towards controversies which had not then appeared above the horizon; he has been remarkably objective in this respect. Of the book's merits as an artistic production, we may predict that it is likely to rank high in the general literature of the country as the biography of a great Englishman, but as an accession to the history of the Catholic Revival, and a vindication of the leader who took so notable a part in promoting it, it will be of inestimable value to Catholic readers.

The Anglican portion of the Life Mr. Ward disposes of in a single chapter. This was perhaps necessary, lest the work should grow to an excessive size; but it is also explained by the character of the treatment, for it is a biography "based on Newman's private judgments and correspondence," whereas most of the letters belonging to the Anglican period have been already published by Miss Ann Mozley, and in place of private journals we have the Cardinal's own matchless record of his thoughts and experiences in the *Apologia*. Another reason for the omission is that it is at the Cardinal's own desire that his present biographer has not added to the record given in these letters and in the *Apologia*. This last reason was, of course, final for Mr. Ward. We may regret all the same that the omission should have been necessary. Newman's life, of all others, is one which, if we are to grasp the unity of purpose that pervades it, we must trace back to its root, yet in so tracing it back we are at a disadvantage if we cannot find a corresponding unity of view in the writer who is to be our guide.

In the absence of a more detailed account, the biographer has, in an introductory chapter, indicated the character of this unity of purpose. Soon after he had graduated at Oxford,

Newman became intimate not only with Whateley, Copleston, Hawkins, and others, but with the ex-priest, Blanco White, who had lost his faith and drifted into Rationalism. With the latter, who called him his Oxford Plato, he had many discussions on fundamental questions, the effect of which was for the time to divert his thoughts towards theological Liberalism, and eventually to make him realize, as a serious danger to religion, this new intellectual force then in its infancy, but capable of becoming very potent with the advance of time. But how counteract its growing influence? As Mr. Ward puts it:

He turned to the thought of those to whom in the past the supernatural world had been the great source of inspiration. There had been great minds in the past whom spiritual gifts had protected from the one-sidedness of intellectualism. To these he looked for guidance. There arose again the vision of the Church of the early Fathers, which he has described as a "paradise of delight" to him. . . . In their career and writings he saw religion in action, moulding the world and capturing men's hearts. The obvious living representative in his eyes of the Church of the Fathers, enfeebled indeed, but still capable of restitution, was the Church of his birth.

Under the influence of this thought he was led on to feel that a special mission in life had been assigned to him. The urgent need of the time was that the Church of the land should be roused from her baneful slumbers, and moved to recover her dogmatic faith, to stir up the spiritual gifts that were in her still as of old so that she might renew in the hearts of her children that religion in action, that testimony of holy lives, which was the really convincing proof of the truth of religion and the sure preservative against the perils of scepticism. It was to work for this restoration of Church life that the young divine, whose talents were then beginning to attract the attention of all Oxford, conceived himself called. The Oxford Movement, destined to effect an elevation of doctrinal and spiritual tone in the whole character of Anglican religious life, and even to turn the eyes of many towards the Catholic Church, was the first fruit of his apostolate. Others collaborated, but from him came the initial impulse, and his in that early stage was the sustaining spirit. It was a wonderful work for one man to have wrought.

But soon came the time when his very advocacy of these principles slowly but surely revealed to him, not that they

were unsound in themselves, but that the Anglican Church was incapable of assimilating them. Elsewhere he must look for the living representative of that Church of the Fathers which had a power of witness that was not of earth. Mr. Ward retells once more the well-known story beginning from his first suspicions, broached to Henry Wilberforce in 1839, that he might find it his duty to join the Roman Catholic Church, through the doubts and hesitations of the three following years, through the retirement and ponderings at Littlemore, and ending in his final reception into the Church by Father Dominic in 1845. His reception was followed by a blessed sense of security, which afterwards he described in the *Apologia* as the lasting happiness of coming into port after a rough sea. And it is very noticeable in this subsequent life that, harassed as he was with troubles, and deeply as he realized the difficulties against Catholicism by which others were tried, his own faith remained ever as firm as a rock.

I have not had one moment's wavering of trust in the Catholic Church ever since I was received into her fold. I hold, and ever have held, that her Sovereign Pontiff is the centre of unity and the Vicar of Christ; and I have ever had, and have still an unclouded faith in her worship, discipline, and teaching; and an eager longing, and a hope against hope, that the many dear friends whom I have left in Protestantism may be partakers of my happiness.

So he wrote in 1862 to a newspaper which reported the foolish rumour that he was returning to Anglicanism, and in the end of his days we find him very beautifully testifying to the same effect:

Who can have dared [he writes to Mr. Spurrier in December, 1886] to say that I am disappointed with the Church of Rome. I say "dared," because I have never uttered or written, or thought, or felt the very shadow of disappointment. I believe it to be a human institution as well as divine, and so far as it is human it is open to the faults of human nature; but if, because I think with others that its rulers have sometimes erred as fallible men, I therefore think it has failed, such logic won't hold; indeed, it is the wonderful anticipation in our Lord's and St. Paul's teaching, of apparent failure [and real] success in the times after them, which has ever been one of my strong arguments for believing them divine messengers.

Still the drama of his Catholic life might be deemed a tragedy, were it not for the serenity of its close, and this precisely because his sense of a mission in life was as strong within him as ever, and made him crave to do some great work for God in his new sphere. For the first seven years of this new period there were no *contretemps*, at all events, none to speak of. He and his companions were welcomed by Catholics of all classes, clergy and laity, at home and abroad, and great things were expected from them. Of course the first thing was to determine what should be their personal mode of life, and the correspondence given by Mr. Ward records by what means, having first studied some theology at the Propaganda and received the priesthood, they chose the Oratory, which they introduced into England, at Birmingham, in 1849, and in the same year, as an offshoot from Birmingham, in King William Street, Strand. It was during this period that the *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, and those on the *Present Position of Catholics in England*, were published, and caused great delight to the Catholics of those days, who now knew that they had a champion that could make himself felt in their cause. At this time, too, came the Achilli trial. It caused Newman infinite worry and anxiety, all the more because Cardinal Wiseman had mislaid the papers on which his *Dublin Review* article against Achilli had been based; and did not seem to realize the importance of finding them. The issue of the trial was recognized even by the *Times* to be a grave miscarriage of justice, and the costs were enormous. But all turned out well in the end, for the Catholics of the world soon made up the necessary amount, and the outcome was a victory not a defeat, and an important service done to the Church, for it brought out the true character of the class of slanderous apostates of whom Achilli was the type, and discredited them for ever in the eyes of intelligent Protestants.

In 1851 he was invited by Archbishop Cullen to take charge, as Rector, of the proposed Catholic University of Dublin. His acute mind realized at once the difficulties inherent in such a project, but the idea appealed to him as consonant with his desire to improve the quality of Catholic higher education. Was this to be the great work of his life? The project had the blessing of the Pope, and his suggested part in it was pressed upon him by the whole hierarchy. He would enter on it, therefore, with the whole authority and

moral force of the Church at his back, and he accepted it, and strove with all his energy to make it a success. But the difficulties he feared proved to be real. The Irish laity were opposed to the scheme; the English Catholic parents could not be induced to send their children to it. The Bishops grew cool about it, and Dr. Cullen's long delays and silences were a mystery, and his disposition to reserve all the professorships exclusively for the clergy was opposed entirely to Newman's conception of what was desirable. It was clear that nothing was left for Newman but to resign the Rectorship and withdraw from the scheme. This he did at the end of 1856. But he withdrew with a sense of disappointment. This was not to be the opportunity of working for God on which he had counted. Yet he was past middle life and his buoyancy was gone. Besides the disappointment was the more bitter because it had been announced, and he had been officially informed, that he was to be raised to the episcopate. This had been distinctly told him by Cardinal Wiseman, but nothing was done to carry out the intention signified. He did not care for the honour in itself, declaring it to be the sort of honour he disliked; but its withdrawal in this inexplicable way seemed to imply that he was mistrusted at Rome. In August, 1857, on his return to England, he was invited by Cardinal Wiseman, with the concurrence of the then recent Provincial Council, to undertake a new English translation of the Bible. This perhaps was the great work he was meant to accomplish, and he accepted it cordially, as blessed by the source from which it came. He set to work at once to get a body of translators together, incurring much expense by so doing. He had even got the Cardinal's approval of his translators, and caused them to begin work. Then the difficulties began to appear. Archbishop Kenrick was engaged in a similar undertaking, and the American Bishops wrote to deprecate English competition. It was for Cardinal Wiseman to deal with this *impasse*, but fertile as he was in initiation, he was apt to drop his schemes when they ceased to interest him, and then to leave in the lurch those whom he had engaged to help him. He was well-intentioned, but not orderly in his habits. So Newman was faced with a fresh disappointment. And others were to follow of a more serious kind. The *Rambler* had been founded in 1848 with the intention that it should minister to the needs of intellectual Catholics. Capes was its first editor, Simpson its first sub-editor and afterwards second

editor, and Sir John Acton made frequent use of its pages to give expression to the views he shared with Dr. Döllinger. Newman felt an interest in it because of its general aim, and of the high quality of its articles. But these writers got out of hand, and ventilated some heterodox theories, besides claiming to set very narrow limits to episcopal authority. This brought them into trouble with the Bishops and scandalized Catholics generally. Newman was asked to intervene to save the periodical from censure, but his intervention brought him under fire from both sides, and eventually caused an article by himself—one whose purpose was to plead indulgence and partial justification for the offending contributors—to be delated to Rome, by Bishop Brown, of Newport. In the sense in which Newman intended it, it was innocent enough, but it was susceptible of an unsound sense, and in this it was inconsiderately taken. The result was to place him "under a cloud." Even some of his warmest former friends of the past became thenceforth suspicious of his orthodoxy, and strained relations between them resulted. It can be imagined how, with his conviction that he could do little that would be of service to Catholicism unless it were known that he had the confidence of the Church authorities, he took this to heart; he felt that it had paralyzed his hand; and that it had made such a life's work as he desired no longer possible.

Then a ray of sunlight beamed on him from a different quarter. Charles Kingsley's unpleasant criticisms on him in *Macmillan's Magazine* led to a public controversy between them, and opened out the way for that splendid vindication of his past career which formed the subject of the *Apologia*. Its appearance had an almost instant effect in transforming public opinion concerning him. We can remember well that time, and Mr. Ward is not exaggerating when he says, in the summary of the results produced,

[the *Apologia*] won the heart of England. Middle-aged men long separated from him, but who once sat at his feet at Oxford, now came forward to tell a world that had forgotten him all that the name "Newman" meant. . . . Thenceforth, John Henry Newman was a great figure in the eyes of his countrymen, English Catholics were grateful to him and proud of having for their champion one of whom the country itself had become suddenly proud as a great writer and a spiritual genius. He had a large following within the Catholic Church, who hung on his words as his Oxford disciples had done thirty years earlier. Opposition in influential quarters continued. But his supporters among

the Bishops stood their ground, and the battle was on far more equal terms than heretofore.

This change of tone towards him had a bracing effect on his spirits. He states in his journal that "his success put him in spirits to look out for new works." The Act abolishing the tests had opened the Universities to others besides Anglicans, and some Catholic parents had taken advantage of the opportunity to send their sons there. For educational reasons this was a good step, but the danger to faith for young Catholics breathing the Protestant, and now Liberal, atmosphere of Oxford and Cambridge was undoubted. Newman saw his way to a good work he thought he might undertake. He was strongly against mixed education for young Catholics in itself, for he felt the gravity of the danger. His ideal was of such a Catholic University as flourished at Louvain. But this, especially after the Irish failure, seemed impracticable, and in lieu of it, if the Catholic youth of the upper classes were to have any higher education at all, they must have it in a mixed University. Might he not then be rendering a signal service to the young Catholics at Oxford, and through them to others whose religious convictions were in peril, by settling down in their midst to be their guide and support? Did not the position he now held in the country specially fit him for the post? Somewhat falling in with these ideas, Bishop Ullathorne offered him the Catholic mission at Oxford and he at once bought some land, and set to work to collect money for building a suitable church and house. But once more there was a lion in his path. At Rome, Pius IX. had resolutely set himself against mixed education for Catholics, and was applying this policy everywhere. It was necessary, therefore, to discourage this disposition of parents to send their children to Oxford, yet would not Newman's presence in the town cause them to think that under the shadow of his influence the danger would cease? This, as transpired afterwards from an audience which FF. Ambrose St. John and Henry Bittleston had in 1867, with Pius IX., was the sole motive why it was wished at Rome that he should not be a constant resident at Oxford, though they were prepared to allow him to set up an Oratory there, and staff it with some other Oratorian Fathers. It was not from any mistrust of his personal loyalty and orthodoxy, but just because

he was so great. There were others, however, at home, who were suspicious of him, and a report got about, and a quite unauthorized announcement was made in a newspaper, that he had been inhibited from going to Oxford. (This was intolerable, but it turned out that Bishop Ullathorne had been instructed from Rome that the Oxford Oratory might be allowed, but that, if Newman showed any disposition to transfer his own residence there, he was to be *blande et suaviter* dissuaded. Of course he withdrew the Oxford scheme, for he was always obedient to any signification of Church authority, but naturally, when he heard of this condition, he put the two things together and felt himself sorely used. He was conscious of the purity of his motive, yet he was always being mistrusted. If only he had been told straight out why it was thought best that he personally should not be at Oxford, just as Father Ambrose St. John was told afterwards, how easily this distressing misunderstanding could have been avoided.

In 1865 the *Eirenicon* came out, and Newman, among others, answered it. Dr. Pusey distinguished between the Church's official doctrine on our Lady and the Saints and on the infallibility of the Church, and the doctrine, as he conceived it, practically held on these subjects, which was full of gross exaggerations and yet was never reprovèd by the Holy See. It was this, he contended, which formed the greatest obstacle to reunion. Newman answered him with great tenderness, agreed with him in disliking the extravagant language which some Catholics used in their devotions, regretted that his *Eirenicon* had been received with such indignation, but reminded him that his own language was partly to blame, for his *Eirenicon* was an olive-branch shot out of a catapult. This pamphlet, and still more, the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, published in 1874, which was in some respects a continuation of it, were much appreciated by the English Catholics, and elicited from the most various quarters expressions of gratitude which gave him much pleasure. Two other controversies in which he was involved during this stage of his life were those arising out of the views expressed in the *Grammar of Assent* (1870) as to the nature of Religious Certitude, and those arising out of the Vatican definition of Papal Infallibility. To dwell on these now would take us too far afield. The former offers indeed an instructive subject for discussion at some future date, but it is enough to take note of it now, as having increased his troubles by seeming to some

to be irreconcilable with the approved philosophy of the Schools. As regards the latter, it is well-known that Newman often declared himself able to assent to the doctrine of Infallibility itself, but he disliked much the idea of its being defined, lest it should prove too great a trial of faith to some others. This is the fundamental fact which must be borne in mind by those who wish to understand his action during a time when misunderstandings abounded on either side, and feeling ran high. Perhaps Newman himself was not free from the misunderstandings then current. Whatever ideas the gossips and publicists on either side, or even some members of what we may call the official opposition, may have had of the species of infallibility proposed for definition, the theologians as a body, as their works testify, understood the doctrine only in the sense which the definition eventually sanctioned, and in this sense Newman, and many others who thought with him, afterwards acknowledged it to be reasonable and moderate, and besides to give formal expression only to principles on which the Popes had invariably acted, and the faithful had consistently obeyed them. "As to the definition, I grieve you should have been tried by it," he wrote, for instance, to a correspondent in 1871. "The dogma has been acted on by the Holy See for centuries—the only difference is that now it is actually *recognized*." The notion that either Pius IX. or his responsible theological advisers ever thought of claiming for the Popes an infallibility by continuous inspiration, is the merest misconception. We may leave, however, this consideration alone, for the aspect under which in the present article we have been regarding Newman's life, is that of his sense of a personal mission. The proceedings of the Council did undoubtedly add gravely to his distress in this respect, notwithstanding that he loyally submitted to the definition and took much pains to explain and justify it to the perplexed minds that sought his advice. During the next decade, though it was varied by interludes of consolation as when in 1874, the Gladstone controversy evoked so many expressions of esteem, and in 1877, when his old Oxford College of Trinity made him an Honorary Fellow, he passed through a period of deep depression. Apart from his many disappointments, he was growing old, and his friends of long standing were dropping off one after another. Above all, he had lost his *fidus Achates*, Father Ambrose St. John. "What is there to look forward to?" was the thought that would come

as years advanced and strength diminished. The solemn conviction that he must think no more of an earthly future, but prepare to follow his friends who had gone, was never absent from his mind. Yet what he had done as a Catholic seemed as yet so fragmentary, so incomplete, accompanied by so much failure. "And so," says his biographer, "working and praying, sad, yet resigned, he awaited the great summons which he felt might come any day."

Yet, in fact, he had still ten years more to live, and he was now on the eve of an event which was to roll away the clouds for ever from his "skies." In the early days of 1879 Bishop Ullathorne sent one day for him to come at once to Oscott. He was in bed with a cold, and Father Pope went in his stead. The news brought back was that Leo XIII. had signified his desire to make him a Cardinal. We need not dwell on the temporary perplexities and even misunderstandings which arose in the first instance. It was a thing he had never dreamt of or ambitioned, nor did he, in the first instance understand how it could be at a time when his advanced age was incompatible with a residence in Rome. But Leo XIII. had no thought of taking him away in his old age from his home in the North, and when that was understood, all went well. The Pope was most cordial; the English Catholics were delighted; the English people were too; and Newman himself "felt," as Father Neville used to say, "almost as though the heavens had opened and the Divine Voice had spoken its approval of him before the whole world."

So solemn an approval of a life's work implies that it was of a character which made it worthy of such approval; and so it was, and so all along it had been recognized to be by all Catholics in England who had eyes to see. As one reads through this biography, with its ample store of letters, one cannot but own that Cardinal Newman was over-sensitive, and in his over-sensitiveness, saw many things blacker than they really were. It was naturally very trying for him that so many of the works to which he had been invited to set his hands, should prove impossible of accomplishment, but this was not always because the persons whom he suspected of it, were against him personally, or thought there was any doubtful ring in his Catholicism. The Irish University Scheme, for instance, was really hopeless from the first. Dr. Cullen was tiresome, no doubt, in not answering letters, but the question of the ultimate ecclesiastical control of appointments was

a serious one, and if he claimed to exercise it beyond what Newman could agree to, this was not because he was dissatisfied with the latter, for it appears that afterwards, in 1867, when some imputations on his orthodoxy were being made at Rome, Dr. Cullen assured the Holy Father that his writings were perfectly sound. It has been already noted that the wish that he should not reside in Oxford, at least, so far as it emanated from Pius IX. or Cardinal Barnabò, was the result not of any mistrust of him, but of appreciation of him. Again, it seems to have been through his over-sensitiveness that he took so unfavourable a view of what he had been able to accomplish in life. What he might have been able to achieve had all his ventures been allowed a free passage we cannot tell, but that the results he actually did achieve were not so fragmentary and incomplete, as he supposed was the general opinion of the multitude who profited by it. Just this was the meaning of the general jubilation with which his *Apologia*, his Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, and his promotion to the Cardinalate were received throughout the country. What caused them to rejoice so effusively was that one from whom they had learnt so much; to whom, perhaps, they owed their conversion; to whose championship they owed a vindication of their action, which they could not have constructed themselves, was receiving something of the recognition to which they held him to be entitled. His work, in fact, was of that very kind which he had all along wished to do, a work tending to confirm and justify religious belief among those living in an atmosphere of religious Liberalism; a work tending to draw men's attention to the living witness of the Church of God as the most stable support of the religious sense; a work again which contributed not a little to direct the minds of Catholics to the necessity of raising the standard of their intellectual education—theological and scientific. It was again a work carried on continuously and progressively, and with increasing success in its results. And finally—though we need not to minimize the value of the work of others, of those particularly whose talents for organization and government were exercised to such advantage for the revival of Catholicism—must we not acknowledge that his work was the most fundamental of all? They organized, he prepared the material for organization. Mr. Ward has brought together many documents which go to support this contention, and fore-

most among them the paper in which the Duke of Norfolk states the reasons which moved him to solicit Newman's promotion to the Cardinalate. But we may sum up his life's work in words which will not be held less conclusive because coming from one whom Cardinal Newman's friends would least suspect of an undue bias in his favour.

In his letter to Cardinal Nina, in which he makes known the desire of the Catholics of England, that the Holy See should manifest by some public and conspicuous act its sense of the singular and unequalled services rendered by Dr. Newman to the Catholic Faith and to the Catholic Church in England, Cardinal Manning states in the following words the nature of these services:

He was the chief agent in the intellectual movement which, in 1833, stirred the University of Oxford towards the Catholic Faith. The fact of his submission to the Church has done more to awaken the minds of Englishmen to the Catholic religion than that of any other man. Many, both directly and indirectly, have been brought by his example to the Catholic Church. His writings, both before and after his conversion, have powerfully contributed to the rise and extension of the Catholic literature in England and wheresoever the English tongue is spoken. The veneration for his powers, his learning, and his life of singular piety and integrity is almost as deeply felt by the non-Catholic population of this country as by the members of the Catholic Church. In the rise and revival of Catholic Faith in England there is no one name which will stand in history with so great a prominence. Nevertheless he has continued for thirty years without any token or mark of the confidence of the Holy See, and this apparent passing over of his great merits has been noted among Catholics and non-Catholics, as implying division among the faithful in England, and some unexplained mistrust of Dr. Newman. . . . Such an act of the Supreme authority of the Holy See would have, it is believed, a powerful effect in demonstrating the unity of the Faith in England and in adding force to the impulse already given by Dr. Newman in his life, writings, and influence to the return of many to the Catholic Church.

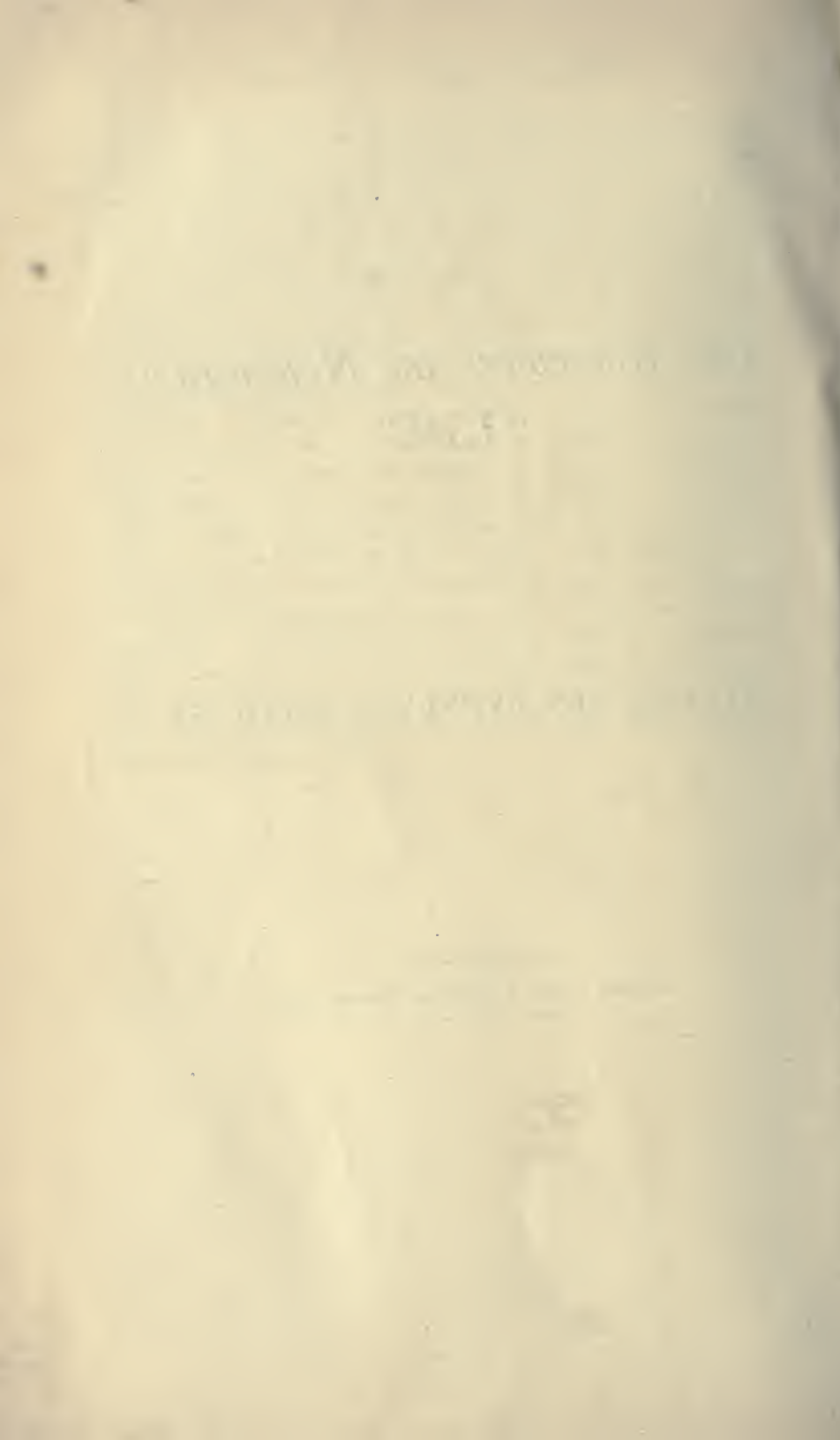
One last point. On the general question how far it is becoming to give to the public letters and documents of their own nature most private, including the outpourings of a man's heart before God in which he gives vent to his inmost thoughts, we do not wish now to express an opinion. Personally, we do not like the practice, but it is accepted in these days, and even prescribed as the only right course for a con-

scientious biographer to pursue. We do not therefore blame Mr. Ward, who, in his Introduction, has advanced a quite intelligible justification for publishing so many of Newman's private letters in which he expresses opinions about those whose actions highly displeased him. But it does seem to us most necessary that readers should, if they are not to misjudge the Cardinal's character, be reminded that the effect of such publication is not only to divulge what has been said in private, but by so doing often to change its significance, making appear blameworthy words that in themselves are blameless. There are things which a man may lawfully say in confidence to another whom he thinks he can trust, things that express only the opinion of the moment with the consciousness that they may need to be modified, judgments which are only in course of formation and may turn out afterwards to be rash and needing revision, even judgments on those set over him. This is inevitable, but before such opinions can be lawfully expressed openly, other things have to be considered. For words then should be used with a fuller sense of responsibility, and should take count of the respect due to superiors, or of the rights of others which may not suffer from private confidences, and yet must suffer gravely from words cast abroad.

*The Reviewers on Newman's
"Life."*

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Reviewers on Newman's "Life."

THE *Life of Cardinal Newman* has received prompt and ample notice from the principal organs of the daily and weekly press. The monthlies and quarterlies may be expected to follow suit in due time, with their more considered judgments, but it is already possible to see what is likely to be the final verdict of the country on Newman's personality and achievements, and on the biography in which his mental portraiture will go down to history. It was not difficult to predict that the biography would be welcomed to a high place among its kind, but the chorus of praise with which it has been in fact received is really remarkable, and besides, has taken in some instances a form which to the author will be peculiarly grateful—as, for instance, in the remark of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that “if Newman had never written the *Apologia* he would have found his vindication here”; or in that of the *Times* that “his fellow-countrymen at least, of whatever creed or opinion, will not misinterpret a frankness which redounds to the credit of the author and of the great Church to which he belongs . . . if his object has been, while adopting the frankness of Newman's own *Apologia*, to vindicate the Cardinal's complete loyalty to the Roman Church, his object has certainly been completely obtained.”

As to the greatness of Newman there is general acknowledgment, though in assigning its exact character the reviewers have been influenced, as was to be expected, by their own attitude towards the religion for which he lived and worked. Thus the *Times* reviewer, who yields somewhat to the temptation to damn him with faint praise, insists that the drama of his life “was for the most part played on no very wide stage, and its development was from first to last determined by the limitations thus imposed”; that

the Oxford in which Newman's reputation was made was a High Anglican preserve, narrow beyond the conception of the modern mind . . . and, if Newman's influence was great at Oxford and

beyond, it was, apart from his personal charm, mainly because he was the leader of a movement to set up a system of protection against undesirable foreign ideas.

Still this reviewer has to acknowledge that "to Newman, more than to any other man, ["the Roman Catholic Communion"] owes its development from an obscure and despised sect into a Church which has a great place in the religious and political life of the country"; and he owns to "the greatness of Newman" by recognizing that it has to be localized somewhere, and so pronounces that

it would seem to lie less in his intellectual eminence, which is at least widely disputed, than in his spiritual qualities and the singleness of purpose and high courage which prompted him, like another Athanasius *contra mundum*, to "champion revealed truth against the Liberalism which he foresaw was about to submerge the world like a flood;" and estimates that "his equipment for this task was an unshakable faith, deep piety, great personal charm, wide patristic learning, mastery of dialectic, a keen but limited intellect, and much sympathetic imagination."

True as it is that the talents he thus concedes to him were important elements in his greatness, the *Times* reviewer must surely in his heart of hearts have felt that, had Newman's success in the use of them been confined within so narrow a sphere as is suggested by the words just quoted, the question of his real greatness could hardly have arisen. But against this suggestion of the *Times* reviewer we may set the corresponding estimate of the *Guardian* reviewer, which is surely more in accordance with the facts:

It is difficult to find a parallel for the mingled feelings of interest, pride, and regretful admiration that the life of Cardinal Newman evokes in the mind of the English Church and the English people. And amid all the English ecclesiastics and theologians of the nineteenth century Newman's is perhaps the only name that is familiar enough to Continental thinkers to be the theme of keen and frequent discussion. Indeed, a literature has of late grown up round it, and that in circles by no means breathing a purely ecclesiastical atmosphere. In this country, too, despite the shock of his "conversion," much of the fascination which prompted the "Credo in Newmanum" of J. A. Froude and his contemporaries survived his change of faith, and survived it triumphantly. His writings, even himself in the mystery of a semi-monastic retirement, became to a curious degree, a national

asset. Thus of the "Parochial Sermons" Dean Stanley could write: "They belong not to provincial dogma, but to the literature of all time." "Lead, kindly Light," the hymn of the Oriel Tutor, is sung by every congregation in England, and not less "The Dream of Gerontius," the poem of the Roman Oratorian—read and scored, Mr. Ward tells us, by Gordon during the last days of Khartoum—is dear to every English household. To some he is a religious philosopher comparable only to Pascal; to others he is the originator of the development theory in dogma ("that or nothing," said one German critic); to Döllinger he was the theologian with almost unrivalled knowledge of the first three centuries of Church history; to Lord Morley he is among the great masters of English prose. When Kingsley's ill-advised attack was repelled, men, whatever their sympathies, could not but delight in the keenness of the dialectical fence and the unabated skill of the master who wielded it, and when the occasion was turned to the production of the "Apologia" many once more felt the singular spell that earlier had called from W. G. Ward the exclamation, "Was there ever in history anything like Newman's power over us at Oxford?" And so, too, at last, when the long cloud of coldness and disparagement on the part of the authorities of his own Church lifted and the honour of the Cardinalate came to him it was by no exaggeration that the Pope, in granting it, uttered the memorable words: "It will give pleasure to English Catholics, and even to Protestant England." For by some strange anachronistic instinct Englishmen really felt that here was a great Churchman of their nation long neglected at the hands of the Papacy and now at last come to his own. Never since the Reformation had the Cardinalate assumed such importance in the eyes of Englishmen as when Newman accepted it.

The contrast, however, between these two estimates is instructive enough when we trace them to their ultimate causes. There are two sides of human life, the material and the spiritual, and there are two corresponding intellectual tendencies, the one which so immerses itself in the study of physical sciences as to ignore all that is not directly amenable to the senses, the other which has a wider and deeper vision that reveals to it a whole world of realities, not less such because they surpass the dull senses and are only spiritually discerned. "To the last," says the *Times* reviewer, in his contention that Newman's fame was "local," "Protestant Germany, as is natural, has never been able to understand the great reputation which Newman enjoyed among Englishmen outside the Roman Church." "As is natural,"

certainly, for what is distinctive of modern Protestant Germany—as represented by its men of science and biblical critics—is that it has never had much eye for the spiritual, whereas the secret of Newman's wonderful influence, and consequent greatness, lay in his singular faculty of grasping the spiritual, and giving vivid expression to its subtle nature and living force.

Of Newman's personality, for the estimate of which Mr. Ward's pages furnish such rich material, none of the reviewers have written more discerningly and sympathetically than the Warden of Keble College, in the *Morning Post*:

The book will [he says] make a far wider appeal than to Newman's co-religionists, or those who are interested in merely ecclesiastical questions; it will appeal to all who care for the deepest religious problems, and to all who care for human life. It is the story of a very rare character and intellect, the beauty of which appeals to our admiration, while the element of pathos in the life excites our sympathy. We see a nature delicate, sensitive, finely-strung at birth, strained almost to morbidness by the great dislocation of his change of faith; an intellect keen, versatile, one who was at once a musician, a poet, a metaphysician, a master of style, one with an artist's temperament, delighting in good work, and quickly jarred by all that is inharmonious, one with a saint's conscience, introspective, self-conscious, a past master in self-anatomy, ever *nimius sui calumniator*, a mystic to whom God and his own soul were from boyhood the two luminously self-evident realities. Such a one as this was called by circumstances to a position of leadership without the gifts for dealing with opponents or wayward followers (his own line about St. Gregory Nazianzen: "Thou couldst a people raise, but could not rule," was early applied to him by one of his Oxford friends), placed at times, as in Ireland, to the task of practical organization, plunged almost all his life into controversy, and the result is an almost pathetic succession of alternating moods; now hesitancy, now assurance, now despondency, and now gratitude; waiting for external calls to guide him when to speak and when to act, yet nearly all his life with the sense that he has never been put into his right position in life, and has never used his powers to the full.

Dr. Lock even sees his way to a comparison between Newman and St. Paul, which is worth quoting as in some respects true and apposite, though in others far-fetched:

There is a close analogy with St. Paul, each with the same variety of intellectual gifts, each strained to breaking point by

the dislocation of a change of faith, each exposed to misrepresentation throughout life, each sensitive to blame and criticism, each longing for sympathy, each with a power of evoking passionate affection and hero worship from those who worked with him, each finding in literary correspondence a chief means of self-expression, and using his letters for revealing the deepest secrets of his heart ("I have constantly been in tears and constantly crying out with distress" says Newman about the self-revelations of the "Apologia"), each with a sympathetic power of adapting his tone and style to his correspondent: each launching out at times into stinging satire, St. Paul in 2 Corinthians, Newman in the lectures on Anglican difficulties: each having a secret shrine into which he can retire in peace and hear his Master speaking and reassuring him with the message that strength is perfected in weakness. Yet there was, in St. Paul, more of masculine grit, less of what almost approaches to querulous peevishness in Newman; he knew more clearly the line which separated religion from superstition; he would have been slower to tolerate and apologize for much of popular extravagance of devotion; he would never have said before writing the bitterest satire of 2 Corinthians: "I am frightened at the chance of being satirical before the Blessed Sacrament. Would a curtain be possible?"¹

This last sentence is not so happy as what precedes it. Newman knew clearly enough the line which separates religion from superstition, becoming from extravagant devotions, perhaps more clearly than his critic. The point about preaching satirical sermons in presence of the Blessed Sacrament, Dr. Lock must have misunderstood, for in a college where the High Church doctrine of the Real Presence is presumably cherished, the intending preacher's scruple should surely not have seemed strange. The imputation of "peevish querulousness," though quickly redeemed by a final judgment that "whatever be the foibles and the weakness, it was a fine and noble and saintly spirit," is one which will be resented by many of Newman's friends, and yet is likely to be made by others than Dr. Lock. But this touches on a matter which is of some importance to those who would estimate him aright. Foibles count for little in the general estimate of a man's character. In few, if any, are they absent, and a biographical account which represented its subject as without them, might well be suspected. But foibles are the excrescences on qualities that lie deep in the nature, and the deep-lying quality of which this particular foible, so far as it

¹ I. p. 231.

was such, was an excrescence, was that of intense sensitiveness. It would be difficult to deny that in Newman this feature was unusually developed, nor is there any reason why his best friends should wish to deny it. Granted that on occasion it led him into displays of weakness, in itself it was a singular source of strength, for regarded from another side or traced to a still deeper root, what else was it but an intense affectionateness, a singular capacity for friendship? Is not this our feeling, when we read—to take an instance on which so far the reviewers have not touched—of the visit to Littlemore in the summer of 1868, and of the incident connected with it, recorded by Canon Irvine, who was vicar there at the time?

I was passing by the church at Littlemore, when I observed a man very poorly dressed leaning over the lych-gate crying. He was to all appearance in great trouble. He was dressed in an old grey coat, with the collar turned up and his hat pulled over his face as if he wished to hide his features. As he turned towards me I thought it was a face I had seen before. The thought instantly flashed through my mind, that it was Dr. Newman. . . . I made bold to ask him if he was not an old friend of Mr. Crawley's, because if he was, I felt sure Mr. Crawley would be very pleased to see him; as he was a great invalid and not able to go out himself, would he please to go and see Mr. Crawley? He instantly burst out crying and said, "Oh, no, Oh, no!" Mr. St. John begged him to go, but he said, "I cannot." Mr. St. John asked him to send his name, but he said "Oh, no!" At last Mr. St. John said, "you may tell Mr. Crawley Dr. Newman is here." I did so, and Mr. Crawley sent his compliments, and begged him to come and see him, which he did and had a long chat with him. After that he went and saw several of the old people in the village.

We may find it hard to conceive of a strong man, of a man as virile as Newman ever showed himself to be, being so overcome as to shed copious tears on the sight of a place where he had lived for a few short though eventful months, and on the remembrance of very ordinary friends with whom he had been associated a quarter of a century previously. But, when confronted with the fact, we cannot but recognize how precious must be the friendship of one whose affection ran so deep. And then, if we further reflect that all through life, directing his thoughts and prompting his actions, there lay deep within him a whole store of such affection for friends past and present, and likewise for the good causes

which he had taken to heart and for which he was working, we shall have the clue to much which might otherwise appear incomprehensible in his vehement dislikes as well as likes. But on this point we must quote Mr. Ward, whose words of searching analysis and appreciation could hardly be excelled:

We see in his letters the intensely affectionate and sensitive nature which won him such devoted friendships and brought at the same time so much friendship. . . . My picture would not be true or living if I omitted from the correspondence as published the indications of this feature and its consequences. I am aware that the unsympathetic reader may find matter for criticism in some manifestations of Newman's sensitiveness, and in a certain self-centredness which so often goes with genius, and which had in Newman's case been fostered by his almost unique leadership at Oxford. But I do not think any one who appreciates the overmastering love of holiness, the absolute devotion to duty, as well as the intellectual force and wisdom evident in the letters as a whole, will feel any disposition so to belittle the great Cardinal when he reaches the end of this book. In reading Newman's correspondence, as when we watch a man in great pain, we hear, perhaps, at moments, cries which are not musical, we witness movements not wholly dignified. But the feeling when all is read can hardly fail to be . . . one of deep love and reverence. . . . His very holiness and devotion to duty are brought into relief by the trials which his own nature enhanced. His brightness of temperament made him keenly alive to the joys of life. It made him at times the most charming of companions. There probably would be few symptoms of undue sensitiveness or of angry resentful feeling to record, had he led a life according to human inclination. But at the call of duty he attempted tasks which were intensely trying. He had the strength to put his hand into the fire and keep it there. He had not strength never to cry out with pain, or always to preserve an attitude of studied grace. . . .

A nature marked by [such] depth of feeling . . . has a load to bear which is not given to others. Deep natures are not the most equable. The selfish and shallow man may be at times the pleasanter companion. The men who feel as deeply as John Henry Newman felt, win from friends and disciples an enthusiastic personal love which others cannot win: *Cor ad cor loquitur*. They give and they receive a love for which others look in vain. But deep feeling is not of all one kind. There will be bitter as well as sweet. Where there is intense love and gratitude, there will be at times deep anger, deep resentment.

But there is another matter, closely connected with this of Newman's unusually deep feeling which, as it appears to

us, needs to be taken more carefully into account if we would judge rightly of the many strong expressions in censure of others, which occur up and down the Letters and Diaries. We have in mind especially those in which he refers to himself as the victim of gross injustice, and marvels that his devoted service should have been thus ill-required. The entry which is the last in his Diary, affords a notable illustration of this:

I have before now said in writing to Cardinal Wiseman and Barnabò when I considered myself treated with slight and unfairness, "So this is the return made to me for working for the Catholic cause for so many years," *i.e.*, to that effect. . . . When I wrote to the two Cardinals, I had that strength of conviction that I never had any notion of secular or ecclesiastical ambition for writing my volumes, which made me not hesitate to denounce, if I may so speak, at the risk of being misunderstood, the injustice, for so I felt it, which had been shown towards me. This I did feel very keenly; and was indignant that after all my anxious and not unsuccessful attempts to promote, in my own place and according to my own measure, the Catholic cause, my very first mistake in the *Rambler*, supposing it to be one, should have been come down upon, my former services neither having been noticed favourably when they were done, nor telling now as a plea for mercy.

The sharpness of this complaint is relieved by the words of self-criticism, which presently follow it, and record the final impression left upon the diarist's mind, after a rehearsal of all that he had set down:

I am dissatisfied with the whole of this book. It is more or less a complaint from one end to the other. But it represents what has been the real state of my mind, and what my Cross has been.

O how light a Cross—think what the Crosses of others are! And think of the compensation, compensation even in this world. . . . I have had, it is true, no recognition in high quarters—but what warm kind letters in private have I had! And how many! and what public acknowledgments! How ungrateful I am, or should be, if such letters and such notices failed to content me.

This was written in 1878, just before his promotion to the Sacred College. Some years later he added at the foot of the last page the words, "Since writing the above I have been made a Cardinal!"

Still, the impression conveyed by the previous passage is not entirely removed by this final corrective, nor is it possible to ignore that, since the publication of this biography, many—we speak from experience—even of those who have always held the great Cardinal in reverence, and would be glad to defend every word he ever wrote, have been taken aback by the tone of positiveness with which he ascribes to rank injustice towards himself, and will not allow to have been prompted by motives deemed to be of a higher order, the various measures emanating from the Church authorities that broke into his well-intended plans for God's glory.

The question, however, which we wish to raise, is whether so to understand Newman's complaint of the injustice done him is not to misunderstand it. What was the particular species of injustice done him of which he complained? Was it in the treatment meted out to him over the Irish Catholic University question, or over his translation of the Bible, or over the promise of the episcopate first made to him and then tacitly and mysteriously withdrawn, or over his dealings with the *Rambler*, or over the question of his being forbidden to transfer his residence to Oxford? In our opinion there was injustice done to him in each of these cases, not, indeed, in the measures themselves which were taken, for these were based on intelligible even if not on the wisest grounds, but by the manner in which they were taken—namely, by keeping him so much in the dark as to the reasons for this action when it affected him, by not asking him for explanations of what was thought to be unsound in his writings, and yet treating him as recalcitrant. And it is this surely that renders intelligible and consistent with a high Christian character the entries in the Diary with which we are now concerned. To set down so absolutely as injustice acts such as the neglect to go on with the offer of the episcopate or the prohibition to have a College at Oxford, might with reason be deemed unbecoming. But to be suspected, and persistently suspected of disloyalty to the faith or to the rulers it set over him, was quite another thing; and for one who knew himself to be in heart and intention the very soul of Catholic loyalty—whose leading purpose throughout life had ever been to express his loyalty in signal service for the Church, who had spent himself and sacrificed himself in so many ways for the good cause—to find his efforts thwarted at every turn by the *mistrust* of those in high ecclesiastical positions, this surely

was a species of injustice he might very properly resent, and, if persuaded that it existed, might in reliance on the testimony of his own conscience, justifiably characterize in the absolute terms we find in the Diary. Newman, in fact, in so doing, was acting only on the well-established principle which he cites with approval, in a page of the biography for which we have lost the reference—the principle that a man should distinguish between vindicating his reputation when it is assailed on other grounds and when it is assailed on grounds affecting the purity of his faith; that in the former case it is often laudable not to be too solicitous about one's vindication, but in the latter case, never.

The reviewers have naturally sought to make capital out of the controversies in which Newman was involved, and to draw conclusions favourable to their own conceptions of the nature of religion. Thus the *Record*, in a threefold notice which is welcome as representing the best strain of Evangelicalism, cannot resist the temptation to contrast Catholic disunion with Anglican unity. "The Church of England," it says, "has its various schools and parties, some of them widely separated from one another, but we do not remember in any episcopal biography such a picture of disunion and mutual recrimination as Mr. Ward gives us in these volumes." This writer does not perceive that in the Church of England it is a case of conflicts over the most fundamental articles of the Christian faith, of one vicar preaching the doctrine of the Real Presence which the vicar in the next parish declares to be abominable idolatry, whereas in the Church to which Newman, Manning and the others belonged, it was a case only of conflicts over the best practical policy to be pursued where important religious objects were involved; Manning, for instance, considering that, notwithstanding the great educational advantages of a Protestant University, the danger for immature minds of being exposed to its rationalistic atmosphere was too serious to be risked, and Newman thinking that the risk from that source could be sufficiently diminished if due precautions were taken, whilst the loss of the educational advantages would prove to be in the long run a still greater danger. Or, if it be said that some of the questions over which these Catholic ecclesiastics fought did concern doctrines, it should be observed that in these controversies there was full submission on both sides as soon as the controversy was decided by the voice of authority, whereas in

the doctrinal controversies in the Church of England, neither side is prepared to submit to any voice of authority, except occasionally to the extent of purely external compliance. Or, if it be further suggested, as in the words quoted from the *Record*, that the encounters between these Catholic ecclesiastics were much sharper than the corresponding encounters in other Churches, this difference, as far as it exists, may be claimed as witnessing in favour of Catholicism. The two neighbouring Anglican vicars can meet in undisturbed friendship, because there is in both of them the half-conscious feeling that their controversies turn on matters of opinion which are not really of fundamental importance. Between the two Catholic ecclesiastics relations are more strained and trying, just because they are entirely at one about the underlying truth and its supreme value, and feel deeply the importance of securing its hold over minds.

Other reviewers, without concerning themselves much about religious unity, which they regard as both unattainable and undesirable, have paid to Newman the tribute of admiration which is his due, but have gratified their antipathies to Catholicism by treating him as an inexplicable exception, and contrasting him with his fellow-ecclesiastics for whom they have little that is good to say. Thus Wiseman is "the commonplace and worldly Cardinal Wiseman," and the other Bishops are "his equally commonplace coadjutors." Dr. Cullen is "an Irish peasant, with a varnish of Roman intrigue, whose conception of a University was that of a seminary on a large scale." Newman is represented as "under no illusion as to the worldliness of the Curia, the studied nullity of Roman theology, the insolence of Cullen and his colleagues, the blind violence of the Ultramontanism which, under Pius IX., ran riot in the Church." One does not find this sort of criticism in the *Morning Post*, or the *Guardian*, or the *Church Times*, whose reviewers are of a higher class, but it would doubtless be too much to expect of the ordinary twentieth century reviewer that he should take on himself some responsibility for his statements of fact, instead of following the easier and more convenient course of picking out of the volume before him the statements that happen to please him, and keeping silence about the rest. The effect, however, of this procedure is like that of the instantaneous photography which fixes for our gaze a galloping horse in a momentary attitude which, thus isolated from its antecedents and conse-

quents, represents it to us as a very grotesque animal, instead of the graceful creature it really is. How different would have been the impression produced and how much more in keeping with the realities of Catholic life, had these people, without overlooking the incidents on which they have based their unpleasant inferences, availed themselves of the many other documents in Mr. Ward's volume, which go to make up his complete picture of these various personalities! How much truer would their judgments have been had they set by the side of their estimate of the "commonplace Cardinal Wiseman," Newman's own estimate of Wiseman in 1851 (i. 256)—"High as I put his gifts I was not prepared for such a display of vigour, power, judgment, sustained energy as the last two months have brought"; or with their estimate of Cardinal Cullen, Newman's estimate in 1879—"I ever had the greatest, truest reverence for the good Cardinal Cullen; I used to say that his countenance had a light upon it which made me feel as if, during his many years at Rome, all the Saints of the Holy City had been looking into it, and he into theirs" (ii. 384); or with their estimate of the Catholic body generally the glowing accounts of them Newman gives in Vol. i., chaps. v., vi., where he records his early experiences of their kind qualities and treatment of himself, both in England and in Italy, and likewise in his reply in 1879 to the address of the Diocese of Birmingham,¹ when, after declaring his past to be filled up with memorials of special kindnesses and the honours [they] had done him, he particularizes the kindness to him of Bishop Walsh, of Cardinal Wiseman, of the Oscott boys and their masters, and many more; and then concludes with the words—"What am I to say to all this? It has been put about by those who are not Catholics that as a convert I have been received coldly by the Catholic body; and, if it is coldness, I wonder what warmth is?" Then again, to leave the reviewers alone and think only of ourselves, how pleasant to set over against the distressing conflicts between Newman and Ward, concerning the question of maximizing and minimizing, the pathetic letter sent by W. G. Ward to Newman, on receiving from him a copy of the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* in 1875 (ii. Append. p. 565) and the consoling account of the "posthumous reconciliation" between the two which Mr. Wilfrid Ward gives with such delicacy in the chapter on "Final Tasks" (ii. 495)! If we take

¹ *Tablet* for September 27, 1879.

all these and similar lights, for we have not exhausted the list, and blend them with the shades, we get surely a picture of these various leaders, of their respective personalities and deeds, which is very far from disedifying, indeed, is such as Catholics may be proud to contemplate.

And this suggests a useful reflection. We have among us partisans of Newman, of Manning, and of other prominent leaders in the cause of Catholic progress during the last half century or so. If, in our testimony to the debt we feel we owe them for signal services to our holy religion, some gather round one leader, others round another, all should remember that we do not really exalt our own particular hero by depreciating the leaders in conflict with him; we only encourage outsiders to claim their conflicts as a telling argument against the truth of our common Church. Let the truth be spoken by all means, but in appraising it let us be on our guard against bias, and let us rejoice, not grieve, if any episode which has hitherto seemed to cast discredit on one or another of these leaders can be satisfactorily explained.

A case of just this sort is to hand. A surmise, bearing on his part in the elevation of Newman to the Cardinalate, which has hitherto pressed heavily on the reputation of Cardinal Manning, can, as it seems to us, be dispelled by the rectification of a few dates, and we may fitly end this article by drawing attention to it.

When Newman was first told by Bishop Ullathorne in 1879 (ii. 439) that Leo XIII. had expressed the desire to call him to the Sacred College, he wrote a letter, dated February 2nd, addressed to the Bishop, pleading the difficulty of transferring himself to Rome at his advanced age, and imploring His Holiness to let him die where he had so long lived. This letter reads, as Mr. Ward observes, like a simple refusal of the proposed dignity. But Bishop Ullathorne, reporting on February 3rd to Cardinal Manning the result of his conversation with Newman, explained that it was not. Though Cardinals holding episcopal sees outside Rome are allowed to reside in their dioceses, it was almost unprecedented for a Cardinal, who is unattached in this way, to live anywhere save in Rome itself; where the custom is to entrust him with a high position on one of the Sacred Congregations. Of course it was possible for the Pope to make an exception in Newman's case, but it would have been most

indelicate for him to suggest this, and so he confined himself to the request that he might not be taken away from his beloved Oratory. The Bishop, however, in his letter to Manning, explained that he believed Newman would be glad to accept the dignity, as a decisive testimony to the integrity of his faith, if Leo XIII. should think fit to give the dispensation; and his Lordship besought Cardinal Manning to make this fact known to the Holy Father. Manning, who was about to pay a visit to Rome, assented to this proposal, and took with him the Bishop's letter, and likewise a Latin letter addressed by Newman to Bishop Ullathorne, but intended to be shown to Cardinal Nina, the Papal Secretary of State. The text of this Latin letter is not given by Mr. Ward, but it may be that it was a translation of the English letter to Bishop Ullathorne already referred to, which Mr. Ward has described as reading like a refusal. Manning received also from Newman a letter addressed to himself of which Mr. Ward has not been able to find the text.

We come now to the false step with which Manning is credited, and which has drawn down upon his memory the terrible charge that, whilst professing to further Newman's elevation to the Cardinalate, he was in reality working behind the scenes to defeat it. "On Saturday," says Mr. Purcell, (ii., p. 560), "15th February, Cardinal Manning, bearing Newman's answer to Cardinal Nina"—he means Newman's Latin answer to Bishop Ullathorne, which Manning was to show to Cardinal Nina—"started for Rome. He passed through Paris, where he remained a day or two," which means that he did not arrive in Rome till the 19th or 20th. Meanwhile the English world was aroused by a formal announcement in the *Times* for February 18th, that "Pope Leo XIII. has intimated his desire to raise Dr. Newman to the rank of Cardinal, but with expressions of deep respect for the Holy See, Dr. Newman has excused himself from accepting the purple." Who put it in? Not Newman, for he disowned it at once in a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, dated February 20th, and besides the language, "and has excused himself from accepting," was most unbecoming and most unlikely to have come from anyone who understood Court manners. But, if not Newman, who? Newman thought Manning had, for Bishop Ullathorne had not, and who else save Manning was in the secret. "The statement," he said, "cannot come from me. Nor could it come

from Rome, for it was made public before my answer got to Rome. . . . A private letter addressed to the Roman authorities, is interpreted on its way, and published in the English papers. How is it possible that any one can have done this?" Of course, this meant that Manning was the person guilty of the impropriety, and Mr. Purcell, and Mr. Wilfrid Ward after him, take the same view, though Mr. Ward sees that the letter which Newman inadvertently calls "a private letter addressed to Roman authorities," is the Latin letter which Cardinal Nina was to see, but which, being addressed to Bishop Ullathorne, was probably sent on to Manning open. Still, does not the suspicion of premature and unauthorized publication remain at Manning's door? Is it not that which the facts point to?

No, it is not, for the whole story rests on a misapprehension as to the dates. The stages of Cardinal Manning's journey to Rome on this occasion with their dates, are all given in the *Tablet* for February 8, 15, 22, and March 1, 1879. He left London, not as Mr. Purcell says, on February 15th, but on February 6th. He expected, says the *Tablet* for February 8th, to be in Rome on February 20th, but in fact he arrived earlier. He remained at Paris till the 10th, made short stays at Nice, Genoa, and Florence, and arrived at Rome on the afternoon of February 15th, at 1.15, and proceeded to the English College. On Saturday, the 16th, in the morning, he had an audience of the Holy Father. Previously he must have shown the letters he brought with him to Cardinal Nina, and we may assume that he brought the whole matter before Leo XIII., at the audience of the 16th. Thus the discussion of the subject with Leo XIII. preceded by two days the announcement in the *Times*, and the notion that Manning, before he could lay Newman's letters before Leo XIII., authorized this announcement, based only on his own interpretation of their meaning, the notion, that is to say, on which was grounded the suspicion that he was secretly working against Newman's promotion, collapses altogether. That Manning did understand Newman's own two letters—that to Bishop Ullathorne for Cardinal Nina, and that addressed directly to Manning as a petition to be excused on the score of age and infirmity is true, for Manning himself says so in his letter to Newman of March 8th, where, however, he also says that he understood Bishop Ullathorne to express the hope that New-

man might, under a change of circumstances, accept it. What he said to the Pope on February 16th, or afterwards, we do not know, but it is hardly conceivable that he made no mention to the Holy Father of Bishop Ullathorne's explanations. Anyhow, all was quickly righted by the intervention of the Duke of Norfolk, who sent on to Cardinal Manning, Newman's letter to himself, representing at the same time the harm that would be done if the idea got abroad that a second time Newman had been offered a promotion, which it was not really intended to bestow on him. What follows is told by Mr. Ward, but the only remaining question which concerns us here is: Was it Cardinal Manning who caused the announcement to appear in the *Times*? It does not seem to us likely that he did. The ignorance of Court usage which its unbecoming language implied was about the last thing one would suspect in him. On the other hand Rome is, as we all know, a place where secrets readily leak out, and where *Times* correspondents are always on the watch.

The Eucharistic Congress.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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The Eucharistic Congress.

By the time this October number is in the hands of our readers, a full fortnight will have elapsed since the termination of the Congress. During the interval all the facts appertaining to it will have become known almost to every Catholic in the kingdom. To repeat them, then, would be superfluous, but as we look back on that wonderful four days, we do well to collect and preserve the impressions received, the convictions formed, that they may be to us for a long time to come a cherished memory and source of inspiration.

Perhaps we may be allowed to begin by paying our tribute of grateful acknowledgment to our Archbishop and the devoted workers who served under him. To organize a Congress on so vast and complex a scale, and to carry it through so smoothly, was a feat of skill, of forethought, and of management, as well as of untiring labour and devotedness, which it would be hard to parallel. Then, too, his Grace's unanswerable vindication of our right to hold the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, together with the dignity and self-restraint with which he abandoned it at the request of the Prime Minister, and yet contrived to substitute another kind of procession, Eucharistic in effect, and such as enabled our poor people to display their zeal in peace and good order—his perfect handling of this unpleasant episode in the Congress won the respectful admiration of his flock, and made them rejoice to read the words of the Cardinal Legate at the lunch on the closing day.

I am sure that I express the feelings of His Holiness when I say that he will be deeply gratified with the incomparable demonstrations which I have witnessed with so much edification and consolation during these blessed days of the Eucharistic Congress, celebrated in this great capital with so much splendour and success. And I can say now that nothing will give him livelier satisfaction than the enthusiasm and unanimous union of wills which has bound together these illustrious Princes of the Church, these well-deserving Pastors of souls, these

multitudes of people met together for the Congress, all united in the same sentiments of faith among themselves and with the Head of the Church. He will be especially pleased when I tell him who has been the chief director of the wonderful organization of these solemn meetings, but above all when I tell him of the perfect order, the edifying piety manifested at the religious ceremonies, and the attitude of the Catholic people who have received with such spontaneous and cordial enthusiasm the Legate of the Pope. Yes, it is due to the Archbishop of Westminster that the course of the Congress has been throughout so perfect in every way ; to him all our congratulations and our thanks are due, and also to those who have assisted him in this delicate and complicated task with so much devotedness, distinction, and patience.

Coming to the Congress itself, we may lay stress in the first place on the demonstration given of the vitality and growth of Catholicism in this country ; for as one looked on those enormous multitudes in the Cathedral, the Albert Hall, the streets of Westminster, and caught the glow of their enthusiasm, one's thoughts could not but travel back to the conditions of a past which is not so remote. It was a thought to which Cardinal Gibbons gave expression in his beautiful sermon on the concluding Sunday of the Congress. A hundred years ago Bishop Milner was living. It was not a score of years since it had been made legal for Catholics to have public chapels, and those they had been able to erect were few in number and lowly in form, so lowly that no one thought of dignifying them with the name of churches. A hundred and twenty priests ministered in them, which might be deemed an ample allowance if it be true that, as Milner calculated, there were but 70,000 Catholics in the whole kingdom. In their paucity and feebleness, though they were constant in their faith and prepared to suffer for practising it, they had become so timid that they trembled in the presence of their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and never thought of claiming to be their equals. Could they foresee what was destined to be the final outcome of the scant measure of relief they had been granted in sheer contempt for their insignificance in 1791 ? Well, we know what a steady growth and expansion of their numbers and influence, partly by conversions, partly by immigration from the sister isle, characterized their history during the first half of the nineteenth century ; and we shall never forget the classical passage in our literature in which the future Cardinal Newman pictured to himself Bishop Milner foreseeing with astonishment in a

dream the destined rise of Oscott College, and the procession through its corridors and into its chapel of the first Synod of the restored Hierarchy. It was certainly a wonderful advance, and not less wonderful because it had established itself in the teeth of a most fierce and bitter animosity. Still, to us who look back, as Bishop Milner was supposed to look forward, to a time which lies about half-way between his age and ours; to us who have fresh in our recollections the magnificent gatherings and processions of the recent Congress, that Oscott ceremony seems modest indeed, and hardly worthy of the glowing terms in which the great writer depicted it. That small, though tasteful, college chapel, and our spacious Westminster Cathedral able to hold its own worthily among the old cathedrals which our forefathers raised up! That quiet procession, formed of a few "theologians from the schools, and canons from the Cathedral," with its "well-nigh twelve mitred heads" and its one Cardinal, and our great procession with its interminable line of clerics and priests, canons, domestic prelates, protonotaries, abbots of divers Orders, Bishops and Archbishops, numbering quite a hundred mitred heads, several distinguished Cardinals, and crowning all a Cardinal Legate *a latere* sent as the closest representative of his own personality, by the Supreme Pastor of the Church! And then, as against the few who may have been present at the former ceremony, that pressing throng of eager faces so multitudinous that no building in the metropolis of the Empire could suffice to hold them! Such was the contrast between the older celebration and the newer; such the advance marked as having taken place during the last half-century—or rather not so much marked as symbolized, for the real progress, of which this is after all but a surface reflexion, lies behind in the splendid increase and development of churches, schools, clergy secular and regular, convents, institutions, and in the fine spirit of zeal and fidelity, of union and co-operation between pastors and people, of self-sacrificing alms-giving on the part of poor and rich alike.

In another way, too, the Congress has given us an object-lesson by which to measure the Church's progress during the last half-century. We are sometimes told that she makes no progress in the number of her adherents, the accessions by conversions being counteracted by the losses through leakage. The comparison is fallacious. At all times in her history the

Church has had to count with the twofold distinction among mankind of those whose disposition is to seek first the Kingdom of Heaven, and those whose disposition is to seek first their own ease and worldly advantage. It is mainly from among the latter class that our leakage comes, and if comparisons are to be made between denomination and denomination, the question to be put is whether our leakage from this source is greater or less than theirs; for it is within the former class that conversions are of value, and there can be no doubt that, sporadic cases excluded, the accessions to our ranks are from this source. Now, the Cathedral holds about six thousand, the Albert Hall about eight thousand, and we may perhaps say, that of the Catholics who lined the streets during the Sunday procession the number was some forty thousand. On the other hand, the number of receptions into the Church entered in the registers for the year 1907 in England was, we understand, about eight thousand, a number which has been sometimes exceeded and may be taken as an average of the annual influx in this way. Thus (though the converts among the crowds attending the Congress were doubtless a proportionately small minority) these masses of people set before the eyes, as in an object-lesson, the size of the annual and quinquennial accession through conversions. Does not that mean a very remarkable element of Catholic progress, which the Congress has helped us to realize more vividly; and does it not illustrate the drawing power of the Catholic Church?

All the more when we consider the conditions under which it has been brought about. We are often reproached for being such a proselytizing Church, and yet on the other hand are often commended for the quiet way in which we attend to our own business. It is because some note one, some another aspect of our life. In the sense that, believing our Church to be the one true Church of God, we crave to share its unique spiritual benefits with our dear friends and fellow-countrymen, and again in the sense that we welcome all who ask to be received into our ranks, and even to the extent of our powers smooth the difficulties for them—we are a proselytizing Church. But if it is meant that we are conspicuous for obtruding the claims of our faith on others in season and out of season, we are surely among the least proselytizing of the religious denominations in this country. Our prevailing disposition is not to discuss the religious question with those who do not themselves

introduce it, and there is a growing feeling adverse to bitter controversy as distinguished from friendly explanation, when the duty of self-defence is enforced on us. Still less do we use any patronage we may possess, or power over our dependents, to constrain them against their consciences to attend our services. If so many come to us, the initiative is in themselves; they come, as they tell us candidly, because they are drawn to us from what they have heard or seen of our life; and our part is to listen to and explain their difficulties, to warn them of the sacrifices a conversion to Catholicism may entail on them, to see that they understand thoroughly the faith they wish to embrace, and are animated by motives which are really sound. It is, then, we repeat, the drawing power of the Church which brings them in such numbers.

Nor again, when in the light of our present condition, as set before us so vividly by the Congress, we compare it with the condition of Catholicism in England fifty years ago, can we leave out of account the altered attitude towards us of our fellow-countrymen generally. The Kensitite people have made themselves conspicuous more by the shamelessness of their methods than by any influence of numbers, yet, if they survive, they survive to remind us of a state of feeling which was general fifty years ago. There is doubtless a much larger and more important class in the country who still retain their inherited fear of Rome, and it is presumably to their influence in the House of Commons that Mr. Asquith yielded when he sought to stop the Procession. But their number is also on the decrease, and the general disposition is to look tolerantly and favourably on our doings, or even sympathetically in the case of that growing class which, though it finds insuperable intellectual difficulties in our creed, admires the spirituality of Catholic lives, and acknowledges the Church's power to deal with the wounds of modern society.

We may seem to have run into extraneous matters in including such topics in an article on the Congress, but surely it is not so. It has been said more than once by the Legate, by Cardinal Gibbons and others that the Congress has been an epoch-making event. It has been so in many respects, and in the one which affects our own country chiefly, because, by revealing to us the solidity and proportions of our growth during a comparatively short period, it has equipped us for the next stage in our onward course with a signal confirmation

of our faith. A book just published predicts that the near future will see the passing away of Protestantism and, through the mediation of Modernism, the incoming of a new version of Catholicism. It is what many prophets are telling us in these days. But we can say after the Congress that the Catholicism which under such difficulties has made such wonderful advances in our country, thereby revealing to us the inexhaustible stores of its vitality, is no new-fangled imitation in shadow without substance, but just the old old Catholicism which has been handed down to us by the generations that have gone before us.

In quite another way the Congress has also been most impressive, and has communicated to us all, dwellers in the country and visitors alike, an inspiration which should not soon be forgotten. "Long and earnestly," said Mgr. Heylen, Bishop of Namur, and President of the Permanent Committee for Eucharistic Congresses, "have we looked forward to this day when we can express our joy at the holding of the great Congress in London. We have held Congresses in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Palestine, Italy and Germany, but always we were looking to London." This was partly because in the fulness of their faith and of their zeal, they trusted that the honour and worship paid to our Lord in the Holy Eucharist on English soil, might bring a blessing on a people for whom they cherish the feelings of Christian brotherhood. But it was also because the advantageous situation of London founded hopes that a Congress held there might attract to itself prelates and persons from all parts of the world, and so cause the gathering to be truly representative of the Holy Catholic Church throughout the world. It is this which has happened and has rendered the London Eucharistic Congress by common consent the most splendid of all. When the long line of visiting prelates and clergy walked in procession through the aisles of the Cathedral or sat together on the platform of the Albert Hall, merely to count them would have been sadly insufficient. They represented almost every part of the world, and many were the master-builders whose names were household words in their own neighbourhoods. Spain had sent two, one of them being its Cardinal Primate. Italy had sent three, one of them the Cardinal who has done so much in North Italy to foster the social works in which Pius X., as Patriarch of Venice, was

so intensely interested. France sent Cardinal Mathieu, two Archbishops and eight Bishops, some of them specially noted for the part they have taken in reorganizing the Church of France in her present distress. Germany sent the illustrious Bishop of Metz, and only failed to send the Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne because illness prevented him from travelling. Belgium sent her Cardinal Mercier, so well known as the Founder of the Neo-Scholastic Movement, and with him two other Bishops in addition to the Bishop of Namur. The English Bishops were of course almost all of them there. Scotland was represented by the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Aberdeen; Ireland by her Cardinal Primate, her Archbishop of Tuam, and nearly a quarter of her hierarchy; Canada by the Archbishop of Montreal and the Bishop of Valleyfield; the United States by Cardinal Gibbons and two other Bishops. Latin America sent a Bishop from Peru, one from Chili, one from Argentina, one from Brazil, and, if we may include him in this category, one from Mexico. Australia sent its Archbishop of Melbourne, its auxiliary Archbishop of Sydney, and its Bishop of Ballarat, illness alone detaining the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney. New Zealand sent its Bishops of Auckland and Dunedin; the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, Natal, Grahamstown, in Africa; Rangoon, Cochin, and the Philippines in the Far East, and British Guiana in the West, their Bishops in ordinary or Vicars Apostolic. And besides these there were Abbots, Benedictine, Premonstratensian, and others, domestic prelates, priests, and laymen of note in their own countries or even beyond them, and like the Bishops, representative of parts of the world widely separated from one another. A gathering so cosmopolitan, with the Legate of the Holy See to head them, the world perhaps, outside the city of Rome, had never seen before. Certainly it would be hard to find its like in the annals of the present, and in the past it would have been impossible in the defect of imposing churches and hierarchies in non-European countries, and the deficiency in the means of transport. But now that we have been privileged to witness this spectacle, how are we to express the sentiments with which it has filled us? Must we not say that inspiring as was the object-lesson offered of the growth of our native Church, still more inspiring was this other object-lesson of the persistence and expansion of the "Holy Church throughout the world," of which our native

Church is but one small constituent element? Yes, that is just what it has been, an inspiring object-lesson of those essential features in the Church of God which we have always believed in, which from our youth upwards we have been taught to enumerate, but which were now set before us not so much as things to believe in, but as things to see with our own eyes. The Church is Catholic, and here were her sons brought together from all lands. The Church is One, and its Oneness was perceptible in the accordant faith of all, for it mattered not who rose to speak in Cathedral or meeting-hall, in address or discussion, all spoke the same voice and in the same spirit. The Church is Apostolic, and here was the Bishop of the Apostolic See present in the Legate whom he had sent, presiding over all ceremonies and discussions, the Teacher of all, and finding in all his willing disciples. The Church is Holy, and it was to the source of its holiness, our Lord Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, that the minds of all were turned. It was love for the Blessed Sacrament that had brought them all together, it was to promote and spread that love that they were joining in worship and deliberation. The Church is Indefectible, and in days when men are predicting its imminent dissolution, here was the witness of the vitality with which it persists in all lands, and by which it spreads. And in this last respect, most appropriate was the reference made by Cardinal Gibbons to the quiet little ceremony in the chapel at Lulworth Castle in 1790. Bishop Walmesley then consecrated Bishop Carroll to be the first Bishop of the see of Baltimore. "Glorious," said Father Charles Plowden, in his sermon on that occasion, "is this day, which sees new nations crowding into the bosom of the Church; glorious for the Prelate-elect who goes forth to conquer these nations for Jesus Christ; not by the efforts of human power, but in the might of those weapons that have ever triumphed in this divine warfare." They were courageous words, perhaps some at the time might have thought them foolhardy words, considering the state of the world at that time, when the forces of Revolution were beginning their formidable assault in the name of philosophy and enlightenment on an institution which they pronounced to be antiquated and effete. Yet the preacher's predictions have been verified with a fulness and significance far exceeding what he could have imagined. And his Eminence, the preacher of our day, who reminded us of this modest ceremony of the past, was

with us as the eldest of more than a hundred spiritual descendants in the episcopate of the single Bishop then consecrated. It is perhaps the most signal illustration in our days of the Church's power to renew her youth, but there were others present at the Congress to testify that it was not the only one.

If our faith has received confirmation from these two powerful objects, our devotion has, we may trust, received from it a direction and a stimulus. For these Eucharistic Congresses are the chief instruments of a great spiritual movement which Pius X. has greatly at heart. It is his desire, as we know, to "restore all things in Christ," by bringing the people back to Christ, the one source of salvation, and hence to the Church which Christ has appointed as the means by which men are to be brought to Him. This thought when unfolded involves two things in a very special way, that men should learn to have recourse more fervently and frequently to the Holy Eucharist, and to show a filial readiness to obey the Pope. For, as the Legate justly expressed it, in his words on the Thursday evening: "The Eucharist and the Papacy perpetuate for us on earth, although in a different manner, the presence of Jesus Christ, the Life and Light of the World." The Eucharist perpetuates His Presence in a hidden manner, but in all the fulness of its reality, so that, when we have learned from the Gospels to know His mind, His love, His desires, His power, we can turn to the altar with the consciousness that He whose personality was expressed in those thoughts, that love, those wishes and powers, is still truly present in our midst; and that in this sense the Holy Eucharist is the centre and source of the Church's life. The Papacy perpetuates His presence as the visible ruler of souls, for we must believe this, if we believe that the office of visible rule which He exercised Himself while on earth but has chosen not to exercise from His throne in Heaven, was confided by Him to St. Peter and his successors, with the promise that He would guide and overrule them in its exercise by a very special Providence.

In each of the two great evening meetings, in strict accordance with this truth of the connection between the Eucharist and the Papacy—"the two generative dogmas of Catholic life," as the Legate called them on the same occasion—these two dogmas were made the subject of the two Resolutions proposed and enthusiastically carried: (1) "This Nineteenth International

Eucharistic Congress pledges all who assist at it to promote, by every means in their power, solid and earnest devotion to the Blessed Sacrament of the altar, according to the mind of the Sovereign Pontiff," and (2) "This Nineteenth International Eucharistic Congress proclaims the unalterable fidelity of all its members to the Apostolic See, and their desire to conform themselves in all things to the instructions of the Holy Father." It is on these two resolutions that we must concentrate our attention if we desire that this glorious Congress shall not end in a merely momentary outburst of enthusiasm. Not that that outburst is to be undervalued. If we have faith we must be confident that those great acts of worship and professions of faith, addressed as they were by overflowing hearts to our Hidden Saviour, reached His Sacred Heart, and will be cherished there as a grateful tribute of our love and an abiding appeal to Its compassion. But that is not enough. If the Congress is really to prove an epoch-making event in our Catholic history, it must be because in after-years when we and our descendants look back upon it, they will recognize it as a date from which a marked advance was made by the Catholics in England (and other lands) in their love for the Blessed Sacrament and their filial loyalty to the Pope. And certainly the Congress has helped us towards that. The enthusiasm aroused has helped, springing as it has from a deeper appreciation of the truths of faith. The many beautiful expositions of these dogmas have helped, and the more detailed sectional papers and discussions have helped, the latter especially, by directing the minds in a very practical way on the examples that should sustain us, and the methods which we shall do well to follow. The papers read in those sectional meetings, which some two thousand of the members must have regularly attended, will of course be published, and will bulk largely among the *acta* of the Congress.

When they are accessible to this form, and can be studied at leisure, they will be found to have embraced the whole field of Eucharistic doctrine and devotion. Let us confine ourselves now to a mention of those which aimed at encouraging frequent, and where possible, even Daily Communion among the faithful, and those which aimed at cementing the union between the priest and the Holy Eucharist, on the closeness of which the Eucharistic devotion of the faithful is so largely dependent; for it is in the development of these two movements that one

may hope to see the influence of the Congress especially tell. The Pope's wishes about Daily Communion are well-known, and since the publication of the Decrees, a most remarkable increase in the number of Communions has resulted. Canon Arthur Ryan, for instance, gave some statistics of the results in Ireland, from which it appeared that the growth in the churches of Dublin had been twenty per cent. above the large number of Communions in previous years. Similar increase had taken place in other churches he mentioned. This same process is in fact going on in most countries, and gradually the remains of Jansenistic feeling, which had told so often against frequency of Communion, are disappearing. In a paper much commended, Father Herbert Lucas expounded lucidly the principles on which the Pope's exhortations are based, principles which the stimulus of the Congress will cause many to desire to understand. Another paper which may be influential in promoting frequency of Communion, is that in which Father T. N. Taylor explained the nature of the "Priests' Eucharistic League for the Promotion of Daily Communion." It is a League only recently erected canonically, but enjoying the warmest approval of Pius X. "It has become a constellation of the first magnitude in the ecclesiastical firmament. Spain, Italy, Belgium, and the United States, have shown the greatest eagerness in the matter of enrolment. A very small number proportionately hail from France, a smaller still from this side of the Channel." Let us hope that so useful a League may soon be as well represented in these parts as in Spain and the United States. Mgr. Parkinson called attention to a Priests' Eucharistic League, which is closely associated with the one just mentioned, in a paper for which one would wish to be able to predict an important influence. This Eucharistic League was founded by Pierre Julien Eymand, of the Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament. In its beginnings it secured the Blessed Jean Marie Vianney, better known as the Curé of Ars, for one of its first members, but it was not instituted canonically till 1887. The object is to promote the worship of the Blessed Sacrament among priests, secular and regular. The members must be priests, or at least, in Holy Orders, or ecclesiastical students. They must make at least one full and uninterrupted hour of adoration every week before the Blessed Sacrament, either exposed or reserved in the Tabernacle. This, and to say Mass once a year for the same object, are their fundamental obligations, the rest are

subsidiary. This League has now over 80,000 members, of whom 6,000 were enrolled after the Eucharistic Congress at Metz last year. In the United States it has a wide extension, and it is now increasing steadily in Latin America. In England so far the number of Associates is comparatively small, but it is hoped that the Congress will cause many priests to enrol themselves. Not all, indeed, who can sympathize heartily with the object, would take on themselves the obligations of a whole hour of continuous adoration weekly. But even by these the idea of the League could be admitted. And both by those able to be members in the strict form and by others, also by the faithful who resolve on more frequent Communion, the following passage from Mgr. Parkinson's paper is well worthy of consideration.

The hour of adoration proclaims emphatically and practically a central doctrine of the Catholic Faith; it gives prominence to those elementary acts of worship, which all must recognize as pre-eminently due to God under the veils of the Most Holy Sacrament—Adoration of His Majesty, Thanksgiving for His unbounded Goodness, Reparation for the perverse wilfulness of men, Supplication for all human needs.

The regular and generous performance of this spiritual exercise almost forces upon the priest an intense realization of his exalted powers, of the excellence of his ministerial office, of the sublimity of the daily Mass, and of his personal littleness and unworthiness.

Very soon the hour of familiar conversation with the Eucharistic God will set ablaze the internal fire of devotion. The priest will appreciate more clearly and definitely the two lives he is called upon to lead—the life of ceaseless, distracting activity, urgent, absorbing, and external, and the quiet, spiritual, interior life which makes the true man of the heart. He will discriminate between the man of God and the man of affairs, the man of prayer and the man of business, the employment of means, and the direct pursuit of the end.

In addition to this, what cannot fail to strike an attentive observer in running through the literature of the League or conversing with its members, is the conspicuous fact that a new state of mind seems to have been suddenly created with regard to the Blessed Sacrament and all that concerns It. This new mentality is not purely individual, bearing solely on one's personal relations to our Lord as the object of a more dutiful homage, more assiduous visits and so forth, but it becomes persistently altruistic. It is eager to enlist associates; it seeks to inflame others with its own ardour; it would bring them in crowds to visit our Lord; it would allure them to the table of the Daily Bread. In other words the vision of the mind seems to have been suddenly cleared and mysteriously rectified, so that it discerns the centre of

Christian life as it really is. "As I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, the same shall live by Me."¹

In the foregoing reflections we have intentionally refrained from any allusion to the jarring note struck towards the end of the Congress by the bigots who put pressure on the Prime Minister to stop the procession. We recognize that though apparently they have still some influence, they are a dying class, and that the mass of our fellow-countrymen who were so fair-minded and sympathetic are in no sense to be identified with them. If then we refer in a few words to the circumstances under which the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament had to be abandoned, it is only to emphasize a point which amidst all the published comments and correspondence which the *contretemps* has elicited, seems to be overlooked. In including this kind of procession in their programme, our authorities had absolutely no desire to offer a challenge or give provocation to any class of the population. Indeed, it is inconceivable that they could have wished to commit the sacrilege, for such it would have been in our estimation, of using the Blessed Sacrament for purposes of provocation. Thousands of poor people wished to have their part in the Congress by honouring the Blessed Sacrament, and, as no building in London could contain them, the only possibility was in a procession through the streets. But in selecting the streets, the police were consulted and their recommendations followed, studious care being taken to select only side-streets, in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral, and in what is, to a large extent, a Catholic district. This was with the express view of "consulting the susceptibilities and even the convenience" of others, nor is it likely that one in a thousand of the hostile class would have wished to come into those streets except for the express purpose of causing a disturbance. And this consideration suggests another of a more general kind, which was overlooked in the newspaper correspondences that have been going on. It is said that we ought not to expect to have our processions allowed here, since Protestant processions are not allowed in Catholic countries. There are many answers to this contention which have been given, but the most fundamental answer is surely this. A Catholic procession is never intentionally provocative, the kind of Protestant procession which the objectors

¹ St. John vi. 58.

have in view is intentionally provocative. The Catholics when they form themselves into procession desire to engage in an act of the worship of God. The symbols and banners they carry, and the hymns they sing, are all ordained to set forth some absolute truth or mystery of their faith, and never make reflections on others. The roads along which they pass are similarly selected with the sole idea of meeting the requirements of the Catholics who will wish to take part. An ultra-Protestant procession (we dislike to use the term in this connection) is in no sense intended by its projectors as an act of worship. It is essentially "anti-," that is, against the Catholics, and hence it selects by preference a route which will take it into the midst of a sensitive Catholic population. Its object is to provoke them by flouting in their faces devices which will sting them to the quick. Those who have witnessed the two kinds of processions in the north of England, or of Ireland, will bear us out in noting this contrast. And the moral would seem to be, restrict all intentionally provocative processions, but give the fullest liberty and protection to those of people who mind their own business, and seek only to give their own people opportunities of worshipping God in their own way.

The Stockport Conference.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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1911

The Stockport Conference.

ANOTHER Catholic Conference, held under the direction of the Catholic Truth Society, has been brought to a successful conclusion. The choice of Stockport was motived by the desire of the Bishop of Shrewsbury, always a warm friend of the Society, to have the Conference of 1899 in his diocese. A few years ago it would have seemed an impossible place for the purpose, not being one of the greater centres of population. Still it has its ten or twelve thousand Catholics, and it not only filled the large Drill Hall each evening with an immense and enthusiastic gathering, but provided a respectable attendance for the day meetings—as large an attendance, in fact, as we are wont to have. The interest too which was taken in the proceedings by the resident Catholics was very gratifying, and proved that one of the ends of a Conference, that of quickening the Catholic spirit of a neighbourhood, was satisfactorily attained. The weak point, already noted by various critics, was one for which the Stockport people were in no way responsible. So few of the Catholic laity, of the class to which we specially look to take an active part in Catholic good works, had found it possible to include a visit to the Conference in their summer engagements. There were even fewer of this class than on former occasions, and this notwithstanding the growing feeling, which found expression both in the Cardinal's Address and in one of the discussions, that our only chance of coping at all successfully with the grave problems of the age, in their bearings on our own people, lies in a vastly larger extension of lay help. May we remind our lay readers that a Conference is not a Synod, and is not intended to be an exclusively clerical gathering, but one in which clergy and laity can meet together to talk over and form plans for the promotion of objects which should appeal to all good Catholics alike? To our younger laymen, with whom rest our hopes for the future, this work of the Conferences should especially appeal, and we can promise them that,

if they will contrive to put in an appearance at future Conferences, they will find the experience as enjoyable as it will certainly be useful to them.

His ecclesiastical position will always draw attention to words coming from the Cardinal Archbishop, but it is the clear and forcible way in which he can present a subject which makes his public utterances so impressive, nor is it an exaggeration to say that his Stockport Address has created a profound impression. An Anglican critic, in a not unfriendly notice, has spoken of him as "following the lead which the Pope has taken of late, and adopting a rôle which is evidently new to him." But the state of the poor and the duties of the rich towards them is a subject which the Cardinal has always had deeply at heart. His promotion of the Social Union dates back to his entrance on the archbishopric, and we can remember words spoken by him at the Manchester Conference, now ten years back, which, though with less development, were to exactly the same effect as the first part of his Address at Stockport. Indeed, how could it be otherwise with a modern Bishop, the duties of whose office bring so necessarily and forcibly before him the miseries of the destitute? It was manifestly out of his own bitter experience of the needs of his diocese that he spoke so earnestly, with the object, as he himself assigned it, of "burning into the Catholic conscience the conviction that there is a great social, economic injustice to the poor to be repented of, to be undone; that the well-to-do have a material and religious debt to the humbler classes that presses for payment, with long and heavy arrears of interest."

In establishing this point the Cardinal charged the Reformation with a large share in the responsibility for our modern economic difficulties. For this he has been censured and bidden to look abroad, at the present state of the Catholic countries. But it is only what he did in his paper, seeking therefrom a confirmation of his case. The Catholic countries in question are Catholic only in the sense that large portions of their populations are Catholic. Their Governments for a long time past, so far from encouraging Catholic ideals and institutions, have sought in every way to destroy the Church's influence, and have confiscated her endowments, which were the patrimony of the poor, quite after the manner of the Tudor princes and nobles. "The fate of the poor," says the Cardinal, "has always been bound up with that of the Catholic Church. As we have

seen it in Italy in the nineteenth century, so was it in England in the sixteenth. The suppression of the Monasteries and the Guilds, the transference of their lands and of the great commons of England to the rich, created a lackland and beggared poor. Professor Thorold Rogers assures us that the workman was handed over to the mercy of his employer at a time when he was utterly incapable of resisting the grossest tyranny."

Nor was this alienation of their patrimony into the pockets of the new-made nobles the worst wrong which the poor suffered through the Reformation. The change of religion was accompanied by a change of spirit in regarding them, a change of spirit to which two tell-tale words, the words "pauper" and "charity," bear witness. They are words of correlative meaning, and, if we look to their etymology, they appeal to the very best feelings of the human heart, tending to unite rich and poor, not to separate them, and to ennoble and exalt both alike, "blessing him who gives and him who takes," by quickening in the breast of each the sense of a common destiny and a close brotherhood. And this is precisely the spirit of regarding poverty and almsgiving which the Catholic Church has always sought to cultivate in the hearts of her children, and which she succeeded in cultivating so generally during the ages of faith. On the other hand, we know that in these days a taint attaches to the two words mentioned, and that it is this taint which creates our chief difficulty in our public efforts to provide for the destitute. The taint must have sprung from some source, and what it points to is that "inordinate growth of selfish individualism" which, as the Cardinal contends, "was substituted in the sixteenth century for the old Catholic polity." Selfish individualism finds the charge of the poor irksome, and it is an easy step from that feeling to the disposition to treat poverty as almost criminal, and the poor as themselves mainly responsible for the distressing condition in which they live. At all times there are good hearts in the world, and they were to be found in the period which divides us from the Tudor Reformation. But there are abundant traces left for us in the literature of that long period to show how little the duties of the rich towards the poor were realized, and how general was the sentiment which Tennyson has put on to the lips of his Lincolnshire farmer.

The Cardinal referred to the past to show how heavy are the arrears of debt due from the rich to the poor, but our

principal concern is with our own age, its shortcomings and its promise of better things. The evil spirit inherited from the past is, unfortunately, far from exorcised. Not only do we show half-heartedness in righting the wrongs done by former generations, we are even adding to their number by fresh wrong-doings of our own. It is not necessary to take up the position of an extreme teetotaler, and demand the closing of all public-houses, still less the total suppression of the drink trade—the Cardinal did not himself take up that position—but every man of Christian feeling must surely go with his Eminence in such a passage as the following :

The houses of the trade are studded over the most squalid and poorest districts, and, as so many vampires, suck the life-blood out of the bodies of the poor. I know of one district in which there are over three hundred drinking-shops. They are traps baited to catch the poor man. They care not who comes in—a labourer with his wages, a wife or mother in anguish and distress, a bright boy, a sickly girl, a little child—all are welcome, have they only a copper. The coppers roll up into silver, the silver into gold, and gigantic fortunes are rapidly made. The rich become richer and richer as they eat the flesh of the poor man and drink his blood, without even a thought of the ruin of his soul. Disease, crime, and pauperism are perpetuated ; sixty thousand persons a year perish through drink. Vain is the appeal to the Legislature, both Houses are too deeply interested in the trade as it stands.

It is cruel and unjust to taunt the poor with their drunkenness. This vice, like extravagance, betting, gambling, and irreligion, has filtered down to them from above. It is the richer class that is always tempting them to drink. While we strenuously defend the sacred rights of private property, how can we defend the property that depends for its value upon the physical and religious ruin of a countless number of human bodies and souls ?

In this, and other ways that might be mentioned, the obligations of justice, obligations more sacred when the poor are their objects than at other times, have been daily and systematically disregarded. But it is not duties of justice only which the well-to-do classes owe to the poor. Charity also, according to the Christian conception, has its obligations. The rich are bound not only to render to the poor what is his ; they must also help him in his necessities out of what is theirs. And here again how great are the shortcomings of the age ! There are some splendid givers, no doubt, in our midst, and all praise to them, but what are they among so many ? For it is selfishness,

and not charity, which still continues to be the dominant note of the age. As the Cardinal puts it :

As to the present day, are things much better? We worship mammon. Life has become a race for wealth on the principle of every one for himself, and the devil take the hindmost, scientifically called the survival of the fittest. Luxury has reached its record level in England. A distinguished ambassador told me the other day that what he most noticed in England, after an absence of thirty years, was the extraordinary increase in luxury and extravagance. People live up to their incomes, or beyond them ; capitalists are intent on increasing their capital. Of how few can it be said, *Dispersit dedit pauperibus*—He distributed his wealth with an even hand, and gave a larger proportion of it to his poorer brethren ?

The Cardinal has been set down as a convert to socialism. But there is no socialism here, unless one is to understand by the term the conviction that, in contrast with the inhumane *laissez faire* system, human society is a vast family in which the sense of brotherhood should knit all the members together, causing them to rejoice and suffer each with other, and to strive for the common as well as their own individual welfare. The Cardinal makes no drastic proposals for the subversion of the entire industrial system. He would not, we are sure, complain of the enterprising capitalism which, especially in the northern counties, provides good labour and good wages—"frugal comfort," in fact—for such immense multitudes. His protest is against that fierce competition by which one capitalist is ever striving to undersell another, a competition which acts on, and is reacted on by, a thoughtless public, until it becomes almost a necessity of the trade, but in which the ultimate incidence of the pressure is on the poor workmen, or workwomen, compelled to toil long hours for starvation wages. And his protest is against the selfishness which can squander enormous sums on mere whims and pleasures, on eating and drinking, on dress and jewelry and personal display, on the beautification of houses, on entertainments and amusements, but becomes at once sparing and economical when it is asked to consider the wants of the poor. Is it wonderful that the poor man should grow indignant and rebellious, whilst he reads of hundreds spent on dress, thousands on a ball or reception, whole fortunes on a necklace or a staircase, or, on the other hand, half-a-sovereign on a cigar or a cake of soap, whilst he himself is wandering weary miles over the length and breadth of London, looking out for

work which, because he happens to be of imperfect skill, or feeble in body, or past his prime, or too late in his application, never offers itself to his willingness, or, if it does, comes to him only in a precarious way, and even while it lasts repays his ten or more hours of daily toil with wages wholly insufficient to keep his home in frugal comfort?

As regards particular questions affecting the condition of the poor, the Cardinal indicated three to which Catholics should devote their attention, as requiring an urgent solution—those concerning Insanitary Dwellings, the Abuses of the Drink Trade, and the possibility of Old Age Pensions. One word on the last of these. There are serious difficulties against the granting of unearned pensions, which have so far baffled the wits of our Royal Commissioners. They are stated in another article lower down, by one who has paid much attention to the subject, and thinks that a more intelligible administration of the present Poor Law might at all events produce a considerable improvement in the lot of the Aged Poor. But what one hopes for is the speedy discovery of a practical system by which the savings of a poor man's thrift during life may be sufficiently supplemented out of public funds to convert them into an adequate provision for his old age. The difficulties which a Pension scheme, even if conceived on these lines, would have to surmount are no doubt obvious and serious. But the broad fact which we have to recognize is that, whatever may be the case of a skilled labourer, the ordinary unskilled labourer, with his low wages and precarious employment, cannot with all the thrift imaginable save enough to keep him in his old age. "Others again," says the author of *No. 5, John Street*, "had a scheme by which, with strict frugality, temperance, and self-denial, he might save just £4 13s. 7d. a year—a sum that, in twenty years or so, might yield enough to supply him with an annuity of £9 5s. 0d. for his old age." That is about what his thrift can do for him, and yet it is not a sound state of things in a country when the entire class of unskilled labourers cannot, with all the thrift in their power, secure for themselves an old age free from the taint of pauperism. May they not fairly say that, either they have a considerable claim to have their savings supplemented in the way suggested, or else it should be recognized that their present rate of wages is unjust?

The second part of the Cardinal's Address, on the Social Mission of Catholics, was, as we all know, occupied chiefly with

a description of the work of the Catholic Social Union. The experience of several years has proved what good it can do, not only through its work among young people, but still more by bringing the two classes together, and enabling them to understand each other. It is the separation which causes the callousness on the one side and the misjudgments on the other ; it is intercourse which moves to sympathy, to self-denial, and action. Such work then as the Social Union engages in, tends in the highest degree to kill the taste for excessive expenditure, and it also forms opinion and so prepares the way for the much-required legislation.

But at present the workers are so few. With all their self-sacrificing devotedness, for which the Cardinal is full of appreciation, they can only benefit one or two small spots in the vast field which needs to be cultivated. They are the pioneers, but what we need is a big army of imitators to follow in their steps.

For my part I consider that as it was the bounden duty of the Church sixty years ago to organize her lay forces into an army of teachers for children of tender age, so it has now become her duty, in the present state of English society, to recruit another army of unpaid workers, not only to take charge of the children when they leave school, but to live and work among the poor as lay missionaries—pledged to better their social and religious condition. It has been whispered that the laity are not sufficiently employed in the work of the Church. Would to God that more of them stepped forward to throw themselves into the great Christian work of regenerating the masses in overcrowded centres of population. This work of fraternal charity is to their hand. The Church invites, nay, presses them into her service. Let them gird themselves, and put their back into the work. The chivalry of personal service to Christ in His poor is open to them. A heavenly hand holds out to them the guerdon of their reward.

May we not hope that words so stirring will meet with a large response !

It was not in the Cardinal's Address only that the necessity of much more lay help was urged. It formed the matter also of an interesting discussion, introduced by two very able papers, from Dom Aidan Gasquet, O.S.B., and Dr. William Barry. One result at least of this discussion should be to dispel the notion strangely prevalent in some quarters that lay help is not desired by the clergy, and if offered would be repelled. Both clergy and laity have their individual characters, and that will

go on till the end of time. There will always be some autocrats among the clergy who like to manage everything themselves, and resent offers of co-operation. And there will always be some cranks among the laity whose co-operation would be more harmful than helpful. But exceptions apart, we may be sure that the clergy will be only too glad to welcome any help offered by devoted laymen. Indeed, when a priest enters on the duties of his parish his first care is usually to ascertain if there are laymen on whose services he can count, and in most places a few such are to be met with. If their number is not larger it is probably because more do not exist, or else are unable or unwilling to offer themselves, and the true problem before us, to the solution of which the Stockport Conference will, one hopes, have contributed, is the problem of enticing lay volunteers to come forward in largely increased numbers. What is to be the work allotted to them is a further question. Some of our laity, when they demand to be allowed to work along with the clergy, have principally in mind the management of the finances, and Dom Gasquet told the Conference how large a share in such management was accorded to the churchwardens and others in the pre-Reformation days. To what extent a return to that system is possible under the materially different circumstances of the present time, we must leave to others to discuss. What the Cardinal's Address showed was that in any case there is a vast field of other and most valuable work which the laity can do, and to which they are earnestly invited.

But how are we to get them to come, and strengthen our present active but scanty band of social workers? There is, of course, no sovereign method. We must all do our best to press the point on those with whom we have influence, and Dr. Barry suggested that we should begin with the young more than we do.

I will ask whether in our schools and colleges we make mention of these things, and how far we do what in us lies to kindle an enthusiasm which, by-and-bye, shall find scope and utterance in societies adapted to its working? Ought we not to acknowledge that the social instinct requires to be developed at an early age among Catholics more than it is now done? My experience where that instinct is perhaps most lively—amongst those outside the Church—convinces me that it is the very young who are the hope of such movements, and who can most easily be brought into them. I would have this work of teaching the social

Christian creed begun at school. In our higher Colleges, with their evenings of leisure and endless opportunities, nothing would be more feasible. And to spread among all their classes the characteristic works of our Society would be a simple means of planting these ideas in youthful minds.

The suggestion is valuable, and we trust it may be widely adopted, though it must not be assumed that it will prove immediately efficacious. The head of one large College, whose attention we called to Dr. Barry's words, replied : " Yes, that is what we are always doing, but the difficulty is to get the boys to respond." Nor must we forget the practical impediments which so often stand in the way, even where there is a personal desire to join the ranks of the workers. For instance, four things must combine in one person before he can join the staff of one of our Social Union Clubs. Besides willingness, he must have opportunity, leisure, health, and fitness. He has not opportunity, if the only work possible for him lies too far away from his door. He has not leisure, if the claims of his family or of his business require him at home of an evening. He has not health, if the strain of the social work is more than he can bear, after his day in an office. He has not fitness, if he has not the divine art of managing vivacious boys. When the deductions on these heads have been made, the residue to which we can appeal may not be so large.

We must not forget these practical difficulties, which press especially on a community so small as our own, nor, on the other hand, must we allow ourselves to be discouraged by them. What they prove to us is, that a larger amount of self-sacrifice is perhaps required of us in our present circumstances than might be necessary under other conditions. What we want, in fact, is heroism on a larger scale, and when the need for it is so great, shall the Church in England call for it in vain from her generous-minded youth of both sexes ?

Again, we may avail ourselves of a forcible and practical passage in Dr. Barry's paper :

This urgent duty of setting up Christ's Kingdom as a real, daily, public influence among Catholics, whether in London, Manchester, Liverpool, or elsewhere, is a duty that none of us can escape from. If one channel does not please, twenty others are at hand. There is rescue work of all kind for women ; there is the advocacy of temperance with all the measures of improvement or prevention that alone can make it effective in our teeming populations. There is this Catholic

Truth Society that has done so well, but which could do infinitely more if it had men, money, and due encouragement. Let every Catholic ask himself when he is next looking into his conscience, "Have I helped any social Catholic enterprise? And what help have I given?" . . . It is most certain that we must add to our Christian offices in Church other Christian offices outside—in that living Church, the members of which are continually recruited by Apostolic self-sacrifice. Since, I say, we are now thrown upon a period of religious anarchy and indifference, with no resources but such as the voluntary system affords, the first and last word of the situation in which Catholics find themselves, must be individual heroism. Thanks to their generosity and self-denial in times past, the land has been covered with churches, schools, convents, and charitable institutions. But the time will never come when this more direct form of the Lay Apostolate will have done all that is required of it.

Although this question of increased lay help ranked first in importance among those discussed in the Conference, and has absorbed the whole of the present paper, the other discussions were also opportune and full of interest. The discussion on Bible-reading should convince any one hitherto in doubt about it that the Church has only encouragement for the wholesome practice. She may at one time in the past have tried to restrict it to persons of sane habits, on the principle on which we take knives away from madmen. But the policy was little more than tentative, in the days in which she had her first bitter experience of the way in which the "unlearned can wrest Scripture to their own destruction." She has never showed herself very whole-hearted in that policy, and has allowed her restrictive laws to pass into general desuetude, whilst for all who would read Holy Scripture in a reasonable manner she has at all times spoken only words of approval and encouragement. Of course she does not prescribe it to her children as the indispensable means of learning how to save their souls, in the manner in which it is prescribed by a certain class of Protestants. This, no doubt, is the principal reason why devout Catholics are not as sedulous Bible-readers as devout Protestants. Another reason is that, whereas the Bible-reading class of Protestants have little else outside Bible-reading to guide them in their spiritual lives, Catholics have a considerable fund of illuminating doctrine which very definitely guides their practice, and which the Church in various ways is continually pressing upon their attention. These causes will always have their natural effect, but we may still hope that our English

Catholics of the present generation may become more zealous Bible-readers than they are now.

Reference was made in the Conference to the stimulus to the practice which preparation for Oxford Locals is now giving. And it may be suggested to our nuns of the teaching Congregations, and of course also to the teachers of our boys, that this good foundation should be diligently built upon. The young people might be exhorted to continue the custom in their after-life, and suitable commentaries or other books bearing on the subject might be more systematically given as prizes. And here we may add, to dispel a notion which seems to prevail in some quarters, that Bible-reading, though it will find in the New Testament its choicest pastures, need not be confined to it. There are some portions of the Old Testament, not very many, which are not suitable for young readers ; but how much there is which is most suitable? Besides, it is only when read in connection with the Old Testament that the New Testament discloses to us the fulness of its meaning.

Mgr. Ward has made the expected Secondary Education Legislation his own subject, and was the natural exponent of the present situation, of which he took a most hopeful view. It is clear that we can look forward to the in-coming system without too much anxiety. It may put us to some expense, and may fetter our liberty in some ways. But for us as for the general community the gain is likely to be greater than the loss, and we shall not have excessive difficulty in harmonizing its requirements with our own.

At a time when the Ritualistic movement is passing through so sharp a crisis, it was inevitable that it should be discussed in the Conference, from the point of view of its bearing on Catholic hopes for the conversion of England. The discussion was, however, marked by the most friendly tone towards the Anglican party, so much so that it seems to have struck even the *Church Times*. May we trust that it will prove to have relieved at least to some extent an unnecessary friction and drawn more together two bodies of men who have so much in common?

Our First Catholic Congress.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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Our First Catholic Congress.

IT is nearly a quarter of a century ago since the question was first mooted of undertaking in this country a series of Catholic Congresses after the method practised by the members of the Anglican Church, and of several secular societies, such as the British Association. That immense good could result from such gatherings in the way of promoting the interchange of ideas and information, in the awakening and broadening of interest in important questions, in the origination of useful projects and the unification of efforts for their accomplishment, was fully realized, but it was felt that Catholics in this country are as much divided on social and political questions as they are united in religious belief. Might not the consequence of bringing these discordant elements together in Congresses, from which burning questions could not be excluded, be rather to provoke disagreeable dissensions than to achieve valuable results? These anxieties availed at the time to destroy all thoughts of a Congress properly so called, but the more hopeful spirits gathered round the Catholic Truth Society, which in 1888 began that series of annual Conferences, the unbroken success of which is a fact of common knowledge that has often been the subject of comment in these pages. Many of the dangers feared in that now distant period have been encountered in these annual Conferences, but they have not proved very formidable, and by this time they have practically ceased to be regarded. One fear, for instance, was lest revolts against episcopal authority should be bred or nurtured in the conflict of opinions, but on the contrary the Conferences have all along been specially favoured by the Bishops, who have found in them occasions when the laity of the best sort, those whose zeal prompts them to serve the Church in her various needs, gathered round them with the utmost loyalty. And out of the discussions in these Conferences a truly prolific crop of useful societies and movements have sprung up—as the Catholic

Guardians Society, the Catholic Prisoners' Aid Society, and, youngest but by no means the least vigorous in growth, the Catholic Women's League, and the Catholic Social Guild—in its possession of which our English Catholic Church has now a far more powerful equipment than it had a quarter of a century ago for the exercise of its beneficent action on the country. These, and other good works besides, may be set down as the progeny of the Catholic Truth Society, working by its literature and its Conferences during this comparatively short period. But there have also been other agencies at work, on behalf of different branches of Catholic interest, which have learnt to hold their separate Conferences during recent years—such as the Catholic Young Men's Society, the Catholic Association, the Third Order of St. Francis, the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, the Guild of Ransom, and the Catholic Federation, not to speak of other sections of our people, like the Catholic members of the Trades Unions, which are only now beginning to enter upon their collective existence.

Could not these different bodies be in future brought together at one time and in one place, with advantage to themselves and one another? Would not the effect of such reunions be to enable them to study more profoundly their own special subjects and at the same time to understand better the subjects proper to the other associated bodies; and so bring them all to a clearer perception of the essential harmony by which their various activities are bound together, in the unity of the one faith with all its high ideals and comprehensive schemes for the world's welfare? In other words, could not the method of annual Conferences be enlarged into a method of annual Congresses, and had not the time arrived when this step in advance had become practicable and opportune? The Archbishop thought it had arrived, and at the Manchester Conference of 1909 he announced his desire that the first Catholic Congress should be held this year at Leeds.

It is not to be denied that during the interval many were anxious as to whether a sufficient increase in the attendances could be counted on to ensure success for so bold a scheme; for the multiplication of sections necessarily meant the subdivision of audiences, and had we advanced so far as to be ready for this additional strain on our resources? But the experiment has now been tried, and the general opinion of those who took part in the recent Leeds Congress is that it has

been not only a success but a very signal success, both in itself and in the promise it gave of future development. It is true that the difficulty just mentioned was to some extent experienced. The Catholic Truth Society's section was perhaps the best attended of them all, at any rate the precedence in this respect lay between that Society and the Catholic Women's League. Yet, the former Society, which had become accustomed to number its attendances by the hundreds, and to see its platforms well filled with Bishops and Catholic leaders, saw its meetings reduced in both these respects. It may, however, be hoped that this falling off is only temporary, and comparable to the loss which sometimes afflicts the heart of a head-priest when he finds his parish divided, but which, as experience shows, is oftentimes quickly repaired by a few years of steady progress on an ampler scale. And, even as it was, the loss for the Catholic Truth Society was confined to some only of the sessions, for it and the Catholic Women's League and Catholic Social Guild had the happy idea of combining their forces for two of the sessions, an idea which in future Congresses will probably be resorted to more extensively. Moreover this loss, such as it was, was largely compensated for by the great gain which resulted from having the different societies working together side by side during their sessions, and their members meeting to converse and compare notes during the intervals, or for the inspiring services at the Cathedral, or mass-meetings in the Town Hall.

It was a misfortune for the Congress that the King's kind visit to the London Hospital should have happened to fall on the Saturday, for it meant that the Lord Mayor of London, whose presence was to have formed a welcome feature in the proceedings, had to return to London to receive His Majesty at Temple Bar. Still, we had him with us for the opening ceremonies of the Friday afternoon, which included the attraction of a civic reception at the railway station and one more elaborate shortly after at the Town Hall, occasions of which the Lord Mayor of Leeds availed himself, whilst giving the Congress and its leaders a warm welcome in the name of the city, to express what was at once acknowledged by the Archbishop to be a correct appreciation of the objects which had brought them there. "The object of that Congress," said the Lord Mayor, "was to promote unity and good fellowship." "It was well-known," said the Archbishop, "that whilst as representatives of the Catholic

Church, they were engaged in promoting those sacred interests which were committed to them, they had nothing more at heart than the desire to work in entire co-operation with the local authorities under whose guidance they lived."

An inaugural service at the Cathedral followed, in the course of which the Archbishop emphasized the value of a National Congress as a means whereby Catholics differing in political conceptions, in racial origin, in social position, in worldly advantages, are assisted to arrive "at a practical unity of action even in those things affecting the work of the Church wherein there is room for much difference of opinion." But the great event of the first day of the Congress was the mass meeting in the evening at the Town Hall. "Mass meeting," indeed, was hardly the name for this particular gathering. The local committee had not realized, as they did afterwards, that a mass meeting of impressive proportions is not practicable unless the prices of admission, if there are to be any, are fixed very low. Still, a very respectable audience had been brought together to listen to the inaugural Address, which, following the precedent of the annual Conference, the Archbishop then gave. It took the appropriate form of a review of the period of English Catholicism which began with the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850, and this year has seen the consecration of Westminster Cathedral, followed so soon after by this first National Congress; two events which, sixty years ago, it would have seemed foolish to anticipate as probable after so short an interval, but which may now be reasonably deemed to set the crown on a work of achievement which God has singularly blessed. Merely to regard it in the light of a few bare figures, it is wonderful that, whilst in 1850 we had in England and Wales "587 churches, ninety-nine schools, 11,000 children attending school, and 788 priests," we should now have "1,760 churches, 1,064 schools, about 330,000 children attending school, and 3,687 priests." But the wonder grows when we reflect on the vastly richer equipment of the churches and schools we possess now as compared with the humble buildings and inadequate apparatus we had then; and, again, with the network of extra-parochial, diocesan, or national institutions which, if still inadequate for the wants of our people, mark a splendid advance on our spiritual destitution in days of which our oldest living generation have personal recollection. The Archbishop, in surveying the stages of this now completed period of foundation-laying,

signalized the respective contributions to its course of his three predecessors, to whom no one will grudge the designation of illustrious. To Cardinal Wiseman we are indebted for the ecclesiastical organization under which we live, for the encouragement then given to the establishment of so many religious congregations in our midst, for the promotion of so many helpful and stimulating devotions, and, may we add, for the insight and large-mindedness shown in dealing with the difficulties incident to the mingling of the new stream of converts with the older stream of hereditary Catholics. To Cardinal Manning we are indebted for the part he himself took, and by his example encouraged Catholics to take, in the more public life of the country ; also for the consequent work he was enabled to do, through the influence thus gained, for our poor children in schools and institutions, for the cause of temperance, and for originating an intimate association of Catholics with the group of philanthropists who were leading the movement for bettering the condition of the poor. In estimating the speciality of Cardinal Vaughan's episcopate, the Archbishop eulogized the all-embracing zeal of which Mr. Snead-Cox's Life has furnished us with so vivid a picture. Each, again, of the three Cardinal Archbishops, as this Address duly chronicled, had his special share in the work which has endowed us, after so short a period of incubation, with a Cathedral that can challenge comparison with the stately Cathedrals reared by our mediæval ancestors. In the remainder of his Address the Archbishop drew out a programme of the work of continuation and growth which now lies before us all, laying particular stress on the special contribution we can make to the cause of national progress, and the opportunities we have in so many departments of cordial co-operation with our fellow-citizens.

The Catholic Church has a wealth of stored-up experience in all things that affect the well-being of mankind, such as belongs to no other body. There is no form of philanthropy which somehow or other in her long history has not had her blessing and encouragement. She has clear views as to the lawfulness or unlawfulness or mere expediency of the suggestions that are offered. She is in closer touch with the poor and suffering than any other organization ; she understands them better and enters more sympathetically into their feelings. At the same time she is unyielding in her guardianship of the moral law. . . . Next there can be no doubt that the co-operation of Catholics is readily welcomed in England at the present day. Indeed, so many

opportunities of co-operation are afforded to us, that it is difficult for any one holding a prominent position to make use of them all. Whether it be a Committee for Social Welfare, or for National Vigilance, or for promoting friendly relations with Germany, or for Boy Scouts, it is universally felt that the participation of Catholics is of very great importance in attaining the desired end. . . . Lastly, although it is rare now to find any of the great national charitable movements tainted by the spirit of bigotry, yet unwittingly and through want of knowledge, the interests of Catholics may suffer if no Catholic be present to point out wherein harm is likely to be done thereto.

Such was the general trend of the Archbishop's Address, but there was one point in it, which, if somewhat of a digression from the main line of its argument, conveyed matter for reflection. When, by the restoration of the Hierarchy, a return was made to the normal organization of Church life, many expected that the return would soon be further completed by the institution of Episcopal elections, of provincial councils, of canonical parishes and parish priests, together with the full juridical apparatus for the government of these. That did not happen either then, or when, more recently, our English Church was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Propaganda, and placed under the ordinary Roman Congregations, as being no longer a missionary country. Why not? is a question sometimes heard.

Clearly it was impossible [said the Archbishop] to introduce into England a form of episcopal election which had long been abandoned throughout the Catholic world. It would have been folly to introduce everywhere the practice of annual Diocesan and triennial Provincial Synods, prescribed indeed by Canon Law, but long fallen into desuetude even in the very few places where the law was once accurately observed. It was idle to speak of fixed parochial jurisdiction in a country where, with shifting populations and incoming Catholics, whether from Ireland or from conversions to the faith, the boundaries would have had to be continually readjusted, each re-arrangement in such cases needing the intervention of the Holy See. . . . We owe it to Cardinal Wiseman's prudent foresight that, in spite of the opposition that confronted him, he held firmly to a policy which has done much to unite Bishops, clergy, and Catholic laity in England, while gradually preparing it to adopt, as time goes on, those forms of ecclesiastical polity which the Holy See is evolving for the whole world. . . . The Codification of the Canon Law is making rapid progress, and thus we may hope that, long before the celebration of our centenary forty years hence, a fifth Provincial Council will assemble to welcome to the Church in

England a definite and normal code of ecclesiastical discipline which, without any violent disruption from or discordance with our past, may fittingly crown the edifice of which the foundations were so well laid by Cardinal Wiseman sixty years ago.

The inaugural address was delivered on the Friday evening. On the Saturday morning and afternoon the sectional meetings were held in the halls of the Leeds University. To them we shall come presently; for it will be convenient to refer first to the events of the Sunday. These consisted of the Solemn Mass at the Cathedral, and of the two Mass Meetings at the Town Hall, that in the afternoon being organized on behalf of the Catholic Women's League (in which, however, men were permitted to join), and that in the evening being of a more general character. For these two meetings the conditions of admission were much facilitated, and the result was that at each the large hall was packed, whilst in the evening there was also a huge overflow meeting in the open space in front of the Town Hall. It was not Leeds only that contributed to swell both evening and afternoon meeting, Bradford sent in a large contingent, as did also, in proportion to their Catholic population, surrounding neighbourhoods like Batley Carr. The enthusiasm was great, and one of the objects of a Congress is to stir up an enthusiasm, which being enthusiasm for the Catholic Faith, may have enduring effects in deepening attachment to its life and tradition. But the speeches delivered at these two meetings were really informing. This can particularly be said of the afternoon speeches by Miss Mary Rorke, Dr. Alice Johnson, Miss Zanetti, and Major Mark Sykes; nor was the word of commendation unmerited which came from the Archbishop, who said that "when the Catholic Women's League was first instituted there were some who questioned its utility, but, if there was need of any answer, that magnificent meeting would be a reply to all criticism." In the evening meeting two Resolutions were brought forward and passed, one expressing the loyal allegiance of the meeting to the Holy See, the other demanding the removal of the still-outstanding Catholic Disabilities, the former being entrusted to the Bishop of Menevia and Mr. Hilaire Belloc, M.P., the latter to the Bishop of Galloway and Mr. J. P. Boland, M.P. A feature of special interest at this meeting was the Archbishop's suggestion to which the audience responded enthusiastically, that he should write in its name a letter of thanks to Mr. Asquith "for the

courage and determination he had shown" in pressing the Royal Declaration Bill through the House of Commons—on that evening it had not as yet been introduced into the House of Lords—and relieving the Catholic body for ever from this gratuitous outrage on its good name. Thanks were also expressed to Mr. William Redmond and the Catholic members of Parliament for their long-continued efforts on our behalf, now so happily rewarded by a successful issue. There was one other whose name was not, and could not, be mentioned in that public way, but which must have been in the minds of many who would have liked to be able to thank him personally for so firmly refusing, as he is understood to have done, to utter words insulting to multitudes of his loyal subjects; for this refusal has doubtless acted as a powerful counterpoise to the fear of losing votes which always exercises so disturbing an influence in the minds of the politicians. Still, the ease with which the Bill passed into law means doubtless that the great majority of the members of both Houses were only too glad to get rid of so scandalous an observance.

The solemn Pontifical Mass on the Sunday morning, together with the daily Pontifical ceremonies during the Congress, gave expression to the feeling that prayer and worship should have a prominent place in these annual gatherings—a feeling which the great Eucharistic Congress had helped greatly to evoke. At the Sunday Mass, which the Archbishop sang, and in which some twelve Bishops and several Abbots took part, together with representatives of the Chapters of Westminster and Leeds, the Bishop of Northampton preached a really remarkable sermon on the text: "Godliness is profitable to all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."¹ As this text implies, it was on the same subject as the Archbishop had touched on in the paragraph already quoted from his Address—the unique power of Catholic faith and Catholic principles to heal the wounds of a stricken world. This indeed was as it should be, for it is necessarily the subject uppermost in the minds of Catholics when they meet together in Congress to discuss and project social works which will bring them into co-operation with philanthropists of other schools. But the literary distinction and well-balanced judgment with which the Bishop of Northampton treated his theme made his sermon to be one

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 8.

of those which are not soon forgotten. We trust that it will be preserved in some more permanent form than that of a newspaper report. For ourselves we must be content to quote from it the following fine passage :

Be active in good works. Associate yourselves freely with the charitable enterprizes of your neighbours. Give them the credit they so well deserve for their high-mindedness, their unweariedness, their splendid organization, and especially for their boundless generosity. But never leave behind your Catholic traditions or think them of small account. Let your faith animate your charity. Let it teach you the values of things : that love of your neighbour must be the effulgence of your love of God ; that your neighbour's soul is more precious than his body ; that pain and poverty are not always an evil ; that a benefaction, though it be but a widow's mite, is more justly measured by its motive than by its amount. Let the experience of your Faith teach you that love of humanity which is *only* love of humanity and dissociated from the love of God, is of its very nature a mere weed ; that it flourishes for a day in a favourable environment, but quickly perishes when the weather changes ; that it easily falls into the hands of the official ; that in such hands care for the poor and afflicted tends to become not so much a vocation as an avocation ; that it defeats its own end, pauperizing the recipient, whetting the appetite for comfort, leaving the poor man ungrateful and the rich man sore. Above all, let your eyes rest continually upon "the Author and Finisher of our Faith," Jesus Christ, "the Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." No heart ever loved mankind as He did who for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven . . . and was made Man." . . . Yet bear well in mind, that for all His wisdom, and power, and unfailing sympathy, He set up one organization and only one—the Holy Catholic Church. She and she alone has possession of His Secret. She and she alone can "draw waters from the Saviour's fountains." Supremely intent upon her proper spiritual mission ; supremely solicitous only for the souls of men ; yet in the Providence of God, it has ever been under her influence, and by the ministry of her children, that the healing of the nations has been accomplished even in temporal things. Under her shelter all your charitable schemes will prosper. Withdrawn from it, all will wither away. "Be not solicitous, therefore, saying : What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed ? For after all these things do the heathens seek. For your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. Seek ye, therefore, first the Kingdom of God and His justice—and all these things shall be added unto you."¹

¹ St. Matt. vi. 31—33.

To come to the sectional meetings. It is in these that the practical business of a Congress is done, for it is in these that pressing questions are discussed and Catholic opinion is educated, in these that experienced workers communicate their thoughts, endeavour to arrive at agreements, and form their plans for common action. Some twenty-four Societies took part in these meetings, and a sense of intense reality seemed to pervade at all events a great many of them. One felt that they meant business, and that business would result from their deliberations. We have already said sufficient about the Catholic Truth Society's difficulty, which we are inclined, however, to regard as not likely to be felt in the same degree in future Congresses. Some change of arrangements, devised in the light of the experience gained, will probably be required, such as an extension of the principle of combination which worked so well in the Triple Platform meeting of the Saturday afternoon. Another defect in the arrangements was that the stall at which the literature of the Catholic Truth Society was exhibited was in its own Hall, out of sight of the mass of those attending the Congress, instead of in the wide space near the entrance, where several other stalls had been erected by enterprising tradesmen. The explanation, we believe, was in the somewhat high charge which was made for leave to set up a stall in this more convenient place. The propriety of this we do not need to discuss, but we wish to emphasize the importance of having in all future Congresses the Catholic Truth Society's literature exhibited in the most conspicuous place. The primary work which the Catholic Truth Society has done, and can continue to do for these various Societies, is to supply them with the literature which is so essential for the cultivation of their special spirit, and the carrying on of their good works; as also for binding them all together into one active and powerful whole. Of the papers read in this section two have already appeared, not only in the weekly Catholic press, but in the last number of this periodical; of the others special mention should be made of Mrs. Philip Gibbs's paper on Social work, which was an admirable survey of the work before us in this age of Democracy, and of the parts which the three Societies represented at that meeting are able to do for it. Mr. Anstruther's paper, too, on "Nuns as a national asset" was a very opportune reminder, in these days of Escaped Nuns and their exploiters, of the extent of the debt which both the Church and the nation owe to these much-maligned, but most devoted workers.

A few words are all we can give to the other agencies at work in that busy Catholic beehive, for such the University Buildings had become for the time. To begin with two whose work, like that of the Catholic Truth Society, is of a general character, the Catholic Women's League and the Catholic Social Guild. Both of these are adaptations for English use of agencies that are doing valuable work on the continent. Both aim at manufacturing the material which all Catholic works need to use; for the former seeks to organize the Catholic women of England into one compact body, and inspire them with the resolve to employ their opportunities for social and other work; whilst the latter seeks to provide these and other would-be social workers with the means of gathering the necessary information and training for work which in these days must be based on the best results of study and experience. The Catholic Women's League, though but five years old, now numbers, we are glad to see, over 4,000 members. True to its fundamental principle of helping on whatever existing works may invite its co-operation, it made great use at the Congress of the principle of combination. Besides contributing its part to the Triple Platform, where its own special character was explained by some of its leaders, it gave the hospitality of its sectional hall to the Catholic Needlework Guild, to the Association of Perpetual Adoration and Work for poor Churches, to the Ladies of Charity, the Catholic Prisoners' Aid Society, the Association for the care of Catholic Crippled Children, and the Society for befriending Girls. Informing papers were read on behalf of each of these movements by writers who have been intimately associated with them, and the impression produced was that, if the needs of our poorer brethren are perplexing in their variety, the work of ministering to them has already been started on sound and well-planned foundations, and is in the hands of zealous and well-informed leaders and promoters. The Catholic Social Guild was born only a year ago, but it was much in evidence at the Congress, and received many acknowledgments that it was doing an indispensable work. Its character and purpose was explained from the Triple Platform, and again with more detail at a separate meeting on the Monday afternoon, when papers were read by Monsignor Parkinson and the Rev. Charles Plater, S.J. A third paper read at this meeting, by the Rev. P. M. Cavois, S.J., gave an account of the kindred but much older and more developed movement in France known as the

Action Populaire, whose publications were on view at a stall near the entrance.

A society of which we have heard much lately, indeed, which has had to pass through some sharp fires of criticism, is the Catholic Federation. The object for which it was founded was the protection of Catholic rights and interests,—for instance, in the settlement of the education question—by judicious application of the Catholic vote, and by acting on the Government, Members of Parliament, municipalities, and others to make known to them our claims and induce them to help us with their influence. It is an excellent object, but the difficulty is to do this and keep out of those political questions with which as Catholics we have no concern, and yet in which as citizens we may be keenly interested from opposite sides. This difficulty occupied the serious attention of the Federationists at Leeds, who, though few in absolute numbers, comprised delegates from a large number of local federations. Their anxiety was to arrive at a clear conception of the work they could usefully do, and it was pleasant to see how genuine and loyal was the Catholic spirit by which they were actuated. Another question before them, which with some reserves they solved in the affirmative, was as to the desirability of federating the different federations and associations throughout the kingdom. Papers, which were highly praised by the audience, were read in this section by Mr. Hobson Matthew, of Ealing, on the utility of Federations, by Father Wright, of Hull, on the attitude of Federations in regard to Elections, and by Mr. J. O'Hara, of Hull, on the value of combining Federations. The Archbishop, in the visit he paid to this section, insisted on the necessity, if they were to live on and prosper, of finding other objects for their activity, than mere campaigns against grievances which happily would not supply them with continuous work. Might they not extend their scope and do for men what the Catholic Women's League is doing so well for women?

In recent Conferences of the Catholic Truth Society we once or twice had the opportunity of welcoming to the platform some Catholic working-men who could expound the needs and potentialities of their class with the insight which comes of intimate experience. It has made us look forward to the time when this section of our Catholic population could be brought to take its part more regularly and more systematically in our annual discussions. That desire was realized at Leeds, particu-

larly in the Trades' Union section, whose discussions seemed to the present writer to be perhaps the most interesting and important of all at the Congress. The numbers present were few indeed, but, as in the case of the Catholic Federation, most were delegates. What was so striking in this section was the perfect loyalty to Catholic principles which accompanied their determination to lift the destitute out of the pit into which a heartless industrial system has driven them. As one speaker beautifully expressed it: "We believe in the brotherhood of man, and mean to labour for its full recognition. But you cannot have brotherhood without fatherhood, and so we believe in the Fatherhood of God which is represented to us on earth by the Catholic Church." In the fulness of this spirit they were deeply concerned over the big majority with which at the Trades' Union Congress the resolution in favour of the Secular Solution of the School Question had been carried. They saw through the hollowness of a vote by which delegates who had no sufficient knowledge of the subject, and had no authorization from their respective branches to pronounce on it, committed their Unions to a political opinion having absolutely no connection with the objects for which the Unions were established. They were determined that this unreal and unjustifiable decision should be reversed; they encouraged one another by helpful suggestions of what might be done to undeceive their fellow-Unionists who had been misled; and they seemed to feel confident that they would eventually succeed in their enterprize.

The Catholic Guardians' Association, another Society which, though its numbers are few, has by its judicious action made itself a real power in the land for the protection of the destitute, had some animated discussions on the Majority and Minority Reports, and on the propriety of retaining Guardians of the Poor who are elected *ad hoc*, or abolishing them and merging their functions in those of the County Councils. If the Guardians are retained in their present status, it was argued that you have a class of officials constrained to carry out reform work on the hopeless basis of mere destitution; if their functions are passed on to the County Councils, it was replied, you deliver over the destitute to the tender mercies of officials who will be politicians elected for purely political motives, and will deal with the necessitous in the wooden and heartless way characteristic of officialdom. What can be said on either side was

effectively said in Father McNabb's and Mrs. Crawford's papers and the consequent discussions. On the Sunday afternoon, the members of this section visited the Leeds Union, and came away delighted with the satisfactory way in which one Board of Guardians had dealt with their poor.

We must be content merely to name the Catholic Association, the Third Order of St. Francis, the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, the Catholic Boys' Brigade, the Catholic Temperance Federation, the Catholic Reading Guild, the Catholic Record Society. Their names are known, as is the character of their work, and it was delightful to see them at work side by side, intent on the better promotion of the objects they have respectively in view, and all satisfied with the opportunity the Congress was affording them. We must not, however, omit to mention that the Catholic Emigration Society, with the consent of the Bishops, took a step likely to lead to the federation of the different Rescue Societies, and placing their work on a more satisfactory footing; and we may call attention to the interesting paper read at the Congress by Father Cooney on the coming developments in the treatment of our prisoners—a paper we are happy to have in this present number of *THE MONTH*.

The Second Catholic Congress.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Second Catholic Congress.

THERE was general if not universal agreement last year at Leeds, that the substitution of Congresses for Conferences was justified by the success already attained. The difference, we may remind our readers, between a Conference and a Congress, is that in a Conference, such as was held annually for so many years by the Catholic Truth Society, a single Society, though one with many-sided interests, gathered all who attended into a single hall for all the discussions; whereas a Congress, such as was held last year at Leeds and this year at Newcastle, brings together many societies (in fact, over twenty on these occasions), and provides a number of halls, so that each society may have one to itself in which it can assemble its members and friends to discuss apart the subjects which appeal to it, and the measures to be taken for their realization. A necessary consequence of this multiplication of halls is to subdivide the possible attendances, and it was this that caused anxiety to those who remembered the well-filled and animated meetings which had marked the proceedings of the Conferences. Would not the gatherings at a Congress be too small, even in the room assigned to the Catholic Truth Society, to evoke the enthusiasm so necessary for success? These fears were to some extent justified by the result. The numbers at the purely sectional meetings were often small, and in some cases extremely poor, though in the combined meetings of kindred societies which varied the proceedings, the standard of attendances reached by the Conferences was well maintained. But for a fair estimate of the value of the new departure it was necessary to take into account all the aspects of the Congress, and to weigh future possibilities as well as present attainments. If the sectional attendances were small, there was compensation in the sense of a fuller reality about the proceedings, now that those taking part in them were the very persons who would have it in their power to work in organized bodies for the advancement of

the very definite objects on which they had consulted and resolved. Then again, now that all the more important societies of Catholic workers, many of whom had hitherto held their separate conferences apart in time and place, found themselves together, as represented by their leaders, and could enter into friendly intercourse and compare notes, they felt that they could understand one another better, profit by one another's experience, appreciate and deepen the sense of unity which bound them altogether; and so go back to their homes with a firmer attachment to the grand old Church which, ever new as well as ancient, shows itself so able, by the character of its well-tried methods and the devoted yet tactful spirit it can infuse into its trained workers, to heal sore wounds of modern society, and promote its present as well as its future welfare. Moreover, when we reflect on the advantages of having the labourers in the different fields of Catholic work thus brought together in the same Congress, we must set, in the first place, the opportunity it affords to the Bishops of cultivating personal relations with them all, of manifesting how warm is the sympathy they have for their respective endeavours, whilst receiving in return assurances of the ready loyalty which animates the societies; and on this friendly basis of imparting, possibly at times a few needful warnings against dangers the lay mind might not otherwise perceive, but more often of exchanging helpful counsels for authentic facts. Certainly, it was most delightful, both at Leeds, and this year at Newcastle, to see the Bishops going about from room to room everywhere cordially welcomed, and everywhere saying words of encouragement and suggestion, which were received with the highest appreciation. One felt it was a telling process in the perfecting of the organization whereby our Catholic people, entirely untouched by the canker of anti-clericalism, may in the full strength of their union with their prelates, do splendid work for the defence of Catholic rights and the cultivation of a healthy Catholic life.

Of the mass meetings at Leeds, in connection with this comparison between the Congress and the previous Conferences there is not much to say. After the experience of the first night when—forgetful that, inasmuch as piety runs in families, and hence that even a small charge taxes too heavily a working-man's purse—the executive had set their charges too high, the mass-meetings were as large and enthusiastic as one could

wish; but then the Conferences of former days had accustomed us to overflowing meetings in all the large cities of the kingdom. Perhaps, however, there was the sense at Leeds that the mass-meetings as well as the sectional meetings meant more than on former occasions, because the numbers gathered together were more widely representative.

In these few remarks we have been looking back on the Congress of last year, and the prospects it discovered to us of richer developments to come, now that it has been possible to pass from Conferences to the higher plane of Congresses. It is with design that we have been thus retrospective, because these are just the points we need to keep before us if we wish to gauge aright the wonderful success of the Newcastle Congress. Under all the aspects indicated, this year's Congress has marked an advance on that of last year. The work then commenced was resumed, its lines were more carefully defined, its foundations more firmly set; acquaintances then made were renewed, and friendships formed among those coming from different parts who could be of use to one another in their respective undertakings for the Catholic cause; encouragement was derived from the spectacle of so many efficient agencies engaged in supplying the manifold needs, spiritual, mental, and corporal, of our Catholic population; attachment to our Holy Church was strengthened and the apostolic spirit enkindled by a manifestation of Catholic unity in faith and charity so striking as to impress outside observers. "I looked in," said a writer in the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, "at each of the big mass-meetings, and the vast congregations I saw there were to me impressive symbols of a remarkable unity." All this indeed had been experienced similarly at many a previous gathering, but on this occasion the circle of Catholic workers embraced was so much wider, and the significance of such a concord of minds and souls such as only the Catholic Faith could show, was felt to be proportionately greater.

Moreover, the difficulty from the subdivision of attendances which had been in some degree experienced at Leeds was quite unfelt at Newcastle; partly of course because, great as is the population of Leeds, it is surpassed by that of the aggregate of towns which extends on each bank of the Tyne from Newcastle to the sea; but principally because the movement commenced last year had grown in volume during the interval, so many having

learnt from the Leeds Congress to realize its importance and resolved to take part in it. Thus the Catholic Truth Society saw its hall packed at the two joint meetings on Saturday afternoon and Monday morning, whilst on Monday afternoon, for a subject exclusively its own, an overflow meeting had to be arranged. The Catholic Women's League, Catholic Social Guild, the Newcastle Benefit Society, the Guild of Ransom, the League of the Cross, the Tertiaries of St. Francis, all reported large and interested audiences, whilst the Catholic Confederation, the Catholic Trades Unionists, the Catholic Young Mens' Society not only had attendances large in themselves, but such as were the more important because including numerous delegates from local branches or kindred societies. Thus the Young Mens' Catholic Society, which joined the National Congress this year for the first time, had on the Saturday evening the formal reception of a hundred delegates. Other societies, like the Catholic Reading Guild and the Catholic Guardians' Society, had not indeed large attendances, but such as sufficed for their special purpose which, particularly in the latter case, required that the participants should be weighed rather than counted. The time for the Congress had been fixed so as to include the Bank Holiday, and give the Catholic working men their opportunity for taking part in the proceedings. On the other hand fears were expressed by many in the neighbourhood that this assignment might tell rather against than in favour of the attendances, and in this connection an Irish festival at Durham, for which the people had been saving up their money for months past, was cited as to take place on that day and likely to prove a serious rival to the Congress. What happened at the Durham festival we are not aware: we trust that it was the success it deserved to be. But the enormous numbers at the mass-meeting that evening in the White City, and the still larger numbers in the afternoon who pressed into Jesmond Dene to be received by the Archbishop and the Bishops, not to speak of the increased attendances that day at the sectional meetings in which the working-man element was easily discernible, proved conclusively that the Archbishop was justified in his choice of time, and that the Catholics of the district have a faith strong enough to prefer a demonstration on its behalf even to the delights of the sea-side or the green fields, on the best of their four annual holidays.

We must be content to comment on a few only of the

subjects of interest that came before this Congress. In his opening Address the Archbishop referred to the Roman question in words that were obviously meant to be an authentic statement of the reasons, so much misunderstood by Catholics as well as Protestants, which constrain the Sovereign Pontiff to keep up his protest against the condition in which he is placed at Rome. It is not that either he or his spiritual subjects throughout the world are indifferent "to the aspirations first conceived many centuries ago, then sung by poets and proclaimed by statesmen as the years went on, and culminating in the last century in an irresistible desire for the unifying of the Italian people . . . a natural and vehement desire that the Italian peninsula might take in the midst of the great European nations a place worthy of its history, its resources, and of the glorious achievements of the past." What the Holy Father protests against, and till it is remedied will never cease to protest against, is that this unification of Italy should have been effected in a manner to rob him of his civil independence. Not that "there is any desire on the part of the Papacy for temporal dominion as such," or any "desire to play a part as one of the leading powers of the earth in the competition for increased worldly possessions. . . . 'My Kingdom is not of this world' is a thought ever present to those who are concerned solely about spiritual things." But, continued the Archbishop, quoting words of his own used five years ago at Brighton,

It is of sovereign importance to Catholics all over the world that the Supreme Pastor of the Church should be absolutely independent in the exercise of the authority divinely entrusted to him. To this end he must not be the subject of any temporal ruler, lest the temporal interests of that ruler should be made to interfere with his spiritual authority, and thus lessen his influence and independence in dealing with the world-wide religious interests which are committed to him. Thus Pontifical independence, as it is termed, is essential to the free, full, and unfettered exercise of the authority of the Sovereign Pontificate.

The Archbishop's purpose was to emphasize two things.

Let it not be said that the problem of conciliating the civil independence of the Papacy with the unity of the newly-formed Kingdom of Italy presents a problem so difficult as to be practically incapable of solution. It is not indeed for us to determine what is the exact measure of independent sovereignty which is needed to give to the Holy

See the free exercise of all its spiritual rights . . . [but] on the side of the Holy See the conditions are not likely to be too onerous . . . so long as these spiritual things are duly and really and incontestably guarded, the extent of the civil independence which guarantees this is a matter of small account.

His Grace then referred to the Republic of San Marino in Italy itself, the Principality of Monaco in the Republic of France, and other instances, as showing "how easily with a little good will the Civil Independence of the Holy See might be adequately secured without detaching it in any way from the essential unity of the Kingdom of Italy." This was his first point. His second was a reminder that the accomplishment of such a settlement was as necessary for the stability of the Kingdom of Italy as for the securing of the Pope's civil independence.

It is idle for those who have the prosperity of Italy at heart to ignore the presence therein of very dangerous and subversive elements who, if they hate the Papacy and strive to injure it, are scarcely less hostile to the House of Savoy and to the very idea of monarchy. If these revolutionary elements succeed in obtaining even a temporary mastery, the Kingdom of Italy will be in danger greater far than any which can ever menace the Papacy. Is it not, then, the extreme of foolishness to leave unsettled this "Roman" question, thereby alienating and paralyzing the conservative forces of the country, without whose aid United Italy can never hope for a stable and solidly progressive prosperity. It is not merely as Catholics, but as lovers and admirers of so much that is noble and glorious in the history of the Italian people, that we most earnestly desire a speedy and completely satisfactory settlement of this difficult, but most certainly soluble problem.

On Sunday afternoon a mass-meeting at the White City was organized by the Catholic Women's League, which was much in evidence all through the Congress. The Hall, which is reputed to hold ten thousand persons, was packed to overflowing, a signal testimony to the influence this League has already acquired in Newcastle as elsewhere. The subject chosen for the occasion was the goal of internationalization which it is desirable to keep in view, and accordingly, of the four invited to address the meeting, two were ladies from the Continent—whose papers, however, in their unavoidable absence, were read by others. The Baroness Montenach told of what German Catholic women are doing on the *Frauen-*

bund, Madame Leroy-Liberge of what French Catholic women are doing on the *Ligue Patriotique des Françaises*, and Miss Margaret Fletcher spoke on the Movement in England. Each gave an account of what her respective association is doing, from which it appeared that abroad they are working on the same lines and in the same spirit as in England. Of course, their numbers greatly exceed ours. We have so far 6,000 members, a goodly number where Catholics are so few; but the German *Frauenbund*, though founded quite recently, has now 30,000 members, whilst the French *Ligue Patriotique* has—it makes one almost giddy to think of such a figure—500,000. Père Cavois, who represented the *Action Populaire*, was further able to say that the process of internationalizing the Catholic Women's Leagues has already been commenced, and by now includes fourteen nations, France, England, and Germany among them. Besides this representative of the French *Action Populaire*, there had come also to the Congress an Austrian Jesuit, Father Bögle, to represent the *Piusverein*. His paper, giving an account of this German correlative to the *Action Populaire*, has not, unfortunately, been so far published. It was read, not at the Sunday afternoon mass-meeting, but at a sectional meeting of the Catholic Reading Guild. We class Father Bögle here with the other representatives of Continental Catholicism, because their presence was a pleasing and hopeful feature of this Congress. The more the Catholics of different countries are organized and brought into intimate relations with one another, the richer will be the fund of experience and support they can bring to one another's aid. May we not hope, therefore, that from now onwards the presence of foreign Catholics will be a standing feature in the Congresses of Catholic women as of men, in England and elsewhere. It is when workers in like fields become intimate that they can help one another effectually.

One criticism on this afternoon's meeting in the White City. Excellent and pertinent as the papers were in themselves, the general feeling was that in a mass-meeting papers are out of place. It is the living voice which appeals to the masses, and the living voice of those who can make themselves heard easily by all present, and besides, can cast their thoughts into a popular form and play on the emotions as well as instruct the intellects of the listeners.

The Catholic Federations were particularly busy during the

Congress. These Federations, following the precedent set some years earlier by the South London Catholic League, sprang into being in many of the large towns in 1905 and 1906, with the object of defending Catholic rights then threatened by the educational policy of the new Government. They sought to enlighten our people as to the nature of the impending calamity, and to train them to adopt effectual methods of self-defence. They made it their rule to keep clear of all party politics, but at the same time to guide the Catholic vote in elections where religious interests of vital importance were at stake. This brought them into conflict with the devisers of political combinations, and at one time their very existence was threatened from that quarter. But they have survived this danger, and broadening their scope have seen that there is a place in the Catholic system which they can usefully fill, as permanent institutions for the organization of Catholic defence. This, however, requires that they shall first arrive at clear conclusions concerning the perfecting of their own organization, the defining of their work and its methods, the adoption of a constructive as well as of a militant programme, matters to which they have been applying themselves everywhere with much zeal. One such question, of primary importance, was before them at Leeds last year, and was resumed at Newcastle this year, the question, namely, of confederating into one national body all these Federations which, having originated locally, have not so far been organically connected. The project of Confederation requires to be delicately handled, and there is general agreement that the autonomy of the constituent Federations must be respected in every way possible. But what is to be the unit of Confederation? Shall it be the "diocese," or the "individual Federation association, union, or guild"? One sees the reasons for each alternative. To federate the individual associations first into diocesan organizations and then through them into one national whole, would in itself be the simplest plan; but, on the other hand, if some of the associations as they exist at present overlap the dioceses, to federate them through the dioceses would require that they should first be broken up and reconstituted on a diocesan principle. No wonder there was acute controversy over this alternative, and we do not understand if it is yet determined, but doubtless it will be in due course and the Confederation accomplished, for this is what all unite in desiring, in view particularly of the

impending renewal of the attack on our Catholic schools. The Archbishop, too, in his address to this meeting indicated a further reason why Confederation should be hastened.

The need [he said] of confederation was greater now than it had ever been before, and that not so much in the present time on account of the difficulties that surrounded them, as on account of the great movement that was going on all over the world, to consolidate and systematize the forces of the Catholic Church against the powers of evil which were rampant in different countries of the world. He had been approached by people abroad in order that he might tell them in what way they could enter into closer contact with the Catholic forces here, and the same thing had been brought to his mind by Father Dowling, who spoke so eloquently at the Leeds Congress last year. His answer to Father Dowling was that they must first have a solid unit here in England, to co-operate with other units abroad, and that unit, to his mind, could only be found in a Confederation. . . . He thought they ought to direct all their attention at present, not so much to co-operation with other bodies abroad, as to fitting themselves for co-operation as soon as possible.

A subject intimately connected with Catholic defence, and therefore with Catholic Confederation, is that of the Catholic Press. This was discussed both by the Catholic Federation and the Catholic Reading Guild. The question of a Catholic daily paper, of course, came up—but equally, of course, was voted to be Utopian under the present conditions, which are likely to last. Even supposing it were possible to obtain for a non-political daily a sufficient circulation—which no one who understands newspaper management will believe—it would require, to put it on a sound basis, a capital so enormous as to be quite beyond the means of the Catholic body. This realized, the press problem resolves itself for Catholics into the threefold problem, how to check the misrepresentations of Catholic matters by the non-Catholic press, how to improve the weekly and periodical Catholic press, and how to get it distributed and read. As regards the non-Catholic press, several speakers—Mr. Lister Drummond, for instance—expressed their belief that the secular press was not intentionally unfair, and that is our own belief—some particular papers, of course, excepted. Often, the administration are well disposed to us, having had experience that anti-Catholic charges usually prove in the event to be unfounded, which means that Catholic protests and refutations are usually to be trusted. But they have to publish

what comes to them from their correspondents, especially their foreign correspondents, at once, which means, before they can have time to test it; whereas the refutations come, as, indeed, refutations must, when, in their judgment of the dispositions of their readers, the subjects have become stale, and perhaps forgotten. We must set it down, too, in their favour that, if they are too often taken in by the press agencies abroad, which are mostly in Masonic hands, they not unfrequently give circulation to articles by well-informed writers who testify strongly in our favour. This, to take a case in point, is what some of them have earned our gratitude by doing in regard to the Portuguese Revolution legend.

But, if we could only have a Catholic international agency such as Father Dowling foreshadowed last year! That would, indeed, be a help to us were it feasible, and perhaps it may come yet. Mr. T. P. Holland, who has experience of the United States, thought that the money for it could be got there, though Mr. Hilaire Belloc estimated that it would require £200,000 of capital; and though it must be borne in mind that a mere machinery would not suffice, but the personnel must include a class of people not so easy to find, those, namely, who know how to distinguish good evidence from bad in the accounts given to them. We feel, however, as was observed not once only at the Congress, that any scheme of this kind which is to do its work well, and is to last, must be commenced from below, by providing for it firm roots out of which in due course it will grow. And this is just what the gradual internationalizing of the Catholic Confederations and the Catholic Women's League are preparing. Indeed, already the *Action Populaire* has its representatives spread over France for this purpose, and there has been for some years past a similar agency in Germany. May we hope that one effect of this year's Congress will be to bring these Continental agencies into closer touch with the English press. For our English Catholic Press has also its work to do, by extending and systematizing its correspondences, in preparing for the more complete international news agency of the future. And here let us associate ourselves with a remark of Bishop Keating's: "I do not want to mention one paper more than another, but there is one paper which I read every week, not so much for its political news, but principally for its special articles contributed by people who know their subjects thoroughly, and whose subjects are generally very much

alive and up-to-date." It is easy to see what paper is intended, one which has made a great advance in this respect lately. We cannot dwell on the suggestions made at the Congress for the improvement of the circulation of the Catholic press. Certainly every Catholic should regard it as a duty to have and to read his Catholic paper regularly, yet we are very remiss in attending to this duty.

The Catholic Truth Society has reason to congratulate itself on the meetings which were held in its Hall. On the Saturday morning Father F. E. Ross, the recently appointed English Commissary for advocating the claims of foreign missions, drew attention to the smallness of the contribution which this country makes to the funds of the great Society on whose shoulders rests the main burden of these missions. In 1910, out of the total of £279,467, (odd), contributed by the whole world, France, in spite of the new drain on her resources through the confiscation of all her ecclesiastical endowments, contributed £121,651, that is, very nearly half; the United States £53,562, Belgium £13,716. . . . Ireland £3,723, and England £1,772. Though we are few in number, this English contribution looks very insignificant even for us, especially when we are told that up to 1860, our total sum was almost as great as it is now, and the interest taken in the work was far greater. Doubtless the main reason is that there are so many other claims on them, and such heavy financial burdens laid upon their backs, that our people think they should not be called upon to contribute to work out of the country. But, as the Bishop of Salford pointed out, that is not a spiritually wise policy. *Date et dabitur vobis* is the maxim of spiritual prudence our Lord has commended to us, and experience shows that foreign missions offer a peculiarly profitable investment for alms thus laid out. But there is a bright as well as a dark side to this picture of English interest in missions, and Father Henry, the successor of Cardinal Vaughan as Head of the Fathers of St. Joseph at Mill Hill, set it before us in another paper, in which he told what his missionaries were doing on the mission field. Just before Cardinal Vaughan died in 1903, he was rejoiced to hear that his missionaries had baptized 5,000 natives during the previous year; last year they baptized 14,000. Still we must make an effort to do much more than we are doing for the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. We want some English Pauline Jaricots. Could we not find some

among our children, and, with a view to that, could not a more successful effort be made to push the work of the Holy Childhood in schools and families? It is generally felt that whilst the few give largely with self-sacrificing generosity, the majority give little or nothing. It might be a useful subject for inquiry, how far this is due to the neglect of even good parents to train their children to the practice of almsgiving from their earliest years.

The meeting of the eleven combined Societies in the C.T.S. Hall on Saturday afternoon, drew a large audience, but, as inevitably there had to be eleven speakers or writers of papers, each limited to ten minutes, the result was to elicit eleven elementary accounts of the several societies. That, perhaps, was not inappropriate for a Congress which, coming early in the series we hope to have, did well to introduce to the Catholic community this satisfactory assortment of intelligently-working Societies; but in future it would seem better, whilst adhering to the principle of combined meetings, to select one or two subjects of sufficiently general interest to be debated by all alike, after the manner followed by the former Conferences.

The palm among the sectional meetings will by common consent be awarded to that on the *Anti-rationalistic campaign*, which was held by the C.T.S. on the Monday afternoon. Father Martindale, S.J. (as we may now call him), brought under notice the determined attack on the very foundations of Christianity—on all our cherished ideas of the Incarnation, of Redemption, even of the very existence of Jesus Christ, and of a personal God—which, quite in the fiercely hostile spirit of Continental anti-clericalism, is being made by the Rationalistic Press Association, and other agencies kindred in character but still more revolting in their bad taste. Many Catholics insist that, instead of seeking to counteract the effects of this pestilent literature, we should ignore it altogether, in the hope that it will not reach our Catholic people, or touch them if it does. But Father Martindale, and after him Professor Windle, brought forward many facts to prove what, indeed, is too obvious, that our Catholics do take the poison of these publications into their moral system. And—

After all, at a time when we are glad to see our young men go to Oxford or Cambridge, when we send others straight from our Catholic schools, younger still, to Universities like that of Liverpool; when our nuns' training schools have to prepare Religious and girls for careers

in which these problems are to the fore, are burning hot ; when we know perfectly well that in these days our men go everywhere, read everything, mix with their fellows in club-room, market-place, and public-house—and it is to live in a fool's paradise to imagine that these things are not hotly argued even there—who shall say these things don't touch Catholics ? . . . And, finally, is there not a wider view ? Is the Church's mission limited to those who are already her children ? Does she live only to defend what she has got ? That was not Cardinal Vaughan's view. He saw that the Church was fast becoming the only guardian of dogma in an age that is losing hold upon supernatural religion. . . . Surely we may also think that in an age when the voices of human wisdom are grown stammering or confused, the divine voice of the Church, if it but speak a language which the people understand, will reach ears that are not deaf and will find a wide and glorious response awaiting her.

On these grounds Father Martindale pleaded for the sum of £500 for which the C.T.S. asks that it may make a good start in providing the kind of cheap anti-rationalistic literature required. And Dr. Windle, in supporting this appeal, expressed two opinions which, as coming from one who is both a convert and a biologist of recognized authority, were felt to be very encouraging.

He hoped he said without prejudice, that their [Catholic] clearer, coherent common-sense philosophy enabled them to deal with these things in a way people outside their ranks could not deal with them. The people who tackled this question with a proper grasp were nearly all Catholics. He had only to mention the names of Father Gerard, Zahm, and Wassmann, and others like Guibert and Dwight. . . . In considering how this work was to be done, the first thing they had got to understand was that the kind of arguments which they had yet to tackle were more the backwash of the nineteenth century than the actual scientific thought of to-day. . . . It was not the modern scientific men who were to be met, for these were, as he had said, less and less materialistic, and he cited as examples Driesch, Reinke, and Wilson.

Father Martindale and Dr. Windle both dwelt on the character of the anti-rationalistic literature we need. It must be cheap and popular in its style, yet at the same time solid, and it should cause to be felt behind it "the driving-power of real knowledge laboriously acquired, accurately exposed, honestly utilized:" it should not be merely negative but constructive, not merely defensive but claiming, as it justly can, that criticism and science—alike in the departments of Biblical and historical investigation and of natural science—are not only not against

our religion but give signal support to its positions ; it should be civil and courteous in its style, whatever be the style of those on the other side ; and, we may add as involved in all this, it should be addressed not to the blatant revilers of all that is Christian, but to the quiet, earnest, and truth-loving souls who have no sympathy with anti-clericalism, but are liable to be taken in by its confident allegations, just because there is as yet no antidotal literature to which they can have recourse.

Though with reluctance, we pass over the work done at the Congress by the Catholic Guardians' Society, the Catholic Trades Union Guild, the Catholic Boys' Brigade, with all which we have the fullest sympathy ; but we may say that the sight of the Boys' Brigade meeting made one wish that some means may be found in future Congresses of arranging for a children's demonstration. Doubtless during holiday time it is more difficult to get the children together, but, as they would be but too anxious to take their part in the Congress, it might be possible to secure their presence, and together with them a band of the older boys who belong to the Brigade.

We have said nothing so far of the two remarkable sermons preached at St. Mary's Cathedral, on the Sunday, by the Bishops of Newport and Northampton. Our readers, if they do their duty by the Catholic Press, have presumably read both of them, but we may fitly close this article with an extract from the sermon in which the Bishop of Newport, taking for his text the words of Moses, "Who will grant that the whole people shall prophesy," claimed to see in a Congress like that being held an illustration of the divine fact that in every age and in every land the people have caught fire from the divine word, and the people's faith and the people's enthusiasm have reacted upon the whole Church, as if indeed the Holy Ghost had fallen upon them.

The people, as a community, seem at times to have that gift of exalting the Kingdom of God which is called in Scripture "prophesying." And if they ever had it they have it still. The people in these days means a very different force from what it meant in the past. The people are now self-conscious ; they can unite, and they can express themselves. There is no need to trace the steps by which this result has come about. We all know that, at the time in which we live, the democracy is a most formidable engine for evil and for good.

The Church is fully alive to the changed situation. Kings and governments have still to be reckoned with, but it is a far more momentous matter that the Church should take hold of the people. And the most practical way—the only practical way—for the Church to make a lasting impression on the people is for her to make sure of the people of her own faith. . . . She will never cease to be a debtor to all the democracy of the world, but, if she can enlighten, train, and put fire into those who already call her their mother, she will then have an armed camp and way into the surging crowds outside her pale. Here we have the reason of a Congress like this. It is not a Council of Bishops or a Synod of priests. It is a Congress of our Catholic people. . . .

The Congress is then an assembly of the Catholic flock, to make itself heard and felt in the interests of the Kingdom of God. . . . Do we not feel that it is something more than a meeting of well-intentioned citizens? More than a conference of men and women with views to propound for the good of mankind? Yes. The Holy Ghost is with us, the Holy Ghost is upon us, the Holy Ghost speaks by our works and works by our agency. There is no question of a miracle or of miraculous inspiration. Neither is everything that is said or done in this Congress absolutely true or absolutely wise. But if the Holy Spirit guides the Hierarchy, so the Holy Spirit guides and moves the Catholic masses. We take the grand result, the broad effect of a meeting like this, and we find that edification, that consolation, that praise of God, that promotion of the Kingdom of God which the prophets of Israel who were not priests, and the prophets of the early centuries who were neither priests nor apostles, but representatives of the laity, were specially endowed to spread abroad in the Church. It seems to me that this thought should help every one of the members of this Congress to labour with all his strength in the spirit of seriousness, in the sight of Almighty God.

Yes, this is indeed an inspiring thought, “a light that shineth in a dark place,” to sustain the faith of our Catholic workers and our Catholic people and to inflame their zeal when, in this age of growing secularism, they take their stand on the side of God, and fight with confidence because they are clad in the assurance that God is with them.



The Norwich Catholic Congress.

IT was confessedly a venture to choose for the Third Catholic Congress a city which, though populous and impressive in itself, has a Catholic community of less than three thousand. But the venture was justified by the result, for only in one respect did the Norwich Congress fall short of the splendid successes of Leeds and Newcastle. This was in the evening mass-meetings, which, though they drew gatherings large enough to enkindle the spirit of enthusiasm, did not entirely fill the spaces of the enormous St. Andrew's Hall. Yet even this shortcoming might perhaps have been avoided had the prices of admission for these meetings been reduced. Granted, though it seems doubtful, that a working-man can afford to spend sixpence on a meeting of this kind, it must be remembered that faith and piety run in families; and, if it is desirable to attract several members from each family rather than one only, and so fill the hall instead of having it spotted with vacant places, it is obviously necessary to lower the price of admission at least to threepence or twopence, or better still, to reserve a good portion of the space for free seats.

In regard to the arrangement of the Congress it must be noted as a distinct improvement that at Norwich the mornings only of Saturday and Monday were left for the sectional meetings of the societies represented, the two afternoons being reserved for general meetings in which all present could meet in one hall for the discussion of topics of common interest. This had the effect of largely reducing the difficulty from the necessary subdivision of the attendances among so many rival attractions. Still, even in the morning meetings, it was remarkable how well the rooms were filled with interested audiences. If the C.T.S. sectional meetings were a partial exception in this respect, it was not so much that they fell short in absolute numbers as because the hall assigned to them was so much larger than the rest. Is there still need for further modifications of the arrangements that

are growing to be customary? Perhaps one may suggest for the consideration of those concerned whether the best use is made of the Sunday afternoons. These are so far set apart for mass-meetings organized by the Catholic Women's League. At Leeds this resulted in a satisfactory meeting, through those chosen to address the audience being not readers of written essays, but speakers well able to hold a popular audience. But at Newcastle, and again at Norwich, though the attendances were highly gratifying, the general effect was depressing, because the readers predominated over the speakers, and because the papers read, though able and convincing in their kind, were ill-adapted to a popular audience, and besides, were read by persons unable to make themselves heard. A read paper is always out of place in a mass-meeting, nor should any be appointed to speak on such occasions, save such as have voices that can carry easily in a vast hall, a thing which few men's voices, and still fewer women's voices, can do. Moreover, it seems a pity that no part should be given to the children, in these inspiring Catholic gatherings. At Norwich their number may have been too small to make a children's meeting or procession impressive, and the same may happen sometimes at future Congresses; but the question is whether the normal thing should not be to have a continuance or development of the pleasant children's gatherings, as an integral part of any Congress in which it is at all possible, in which case the Sunday afternoon would be the natural time for it, the women's meeting being then put on the Sunday evening, or perhaps fused with a similar meeting for men. These are points for improvement that occur to the mind, but in any case acknowledgment is due to the Norwich Congress Committee for the admirable way in which, profiting in some things from the experience of previous Congresses, they organized and carried through their part of the arrangements, and besides, furnished us with such an entirely satisfactory *Congress Guide*. Acknowledgment is also due to the citizens of Norwich, who, headed by their Lord Mayor, received their visitors so cordially, and to the *Norwich Eastern Daily Press*, which gave such full and painstaking reports of the proceedings, and commented on them with a friendliness of tone which was not the less appreciated because the writers showed themselves to be to some extent the victims of prevalent misconceptions as to the aims and objects of the Catholic body.

The Cardinal Archbishop took for the subject of his Opening Address our hopes for the return to Catholic Unity of the English-speaking races. At the commencement of the Schism, the English-speaking population, as far as we can tell, did not exceed 4,000,000. Now it numbers 36,000,000 in England alone, whilst throughout the world it numbers 160,000,000, of which 68,000,000 are British subjects. Yet of this enormous aggregate, 2,000,000 at most in England, and not more than 24,000,000 in the British Empire are at present Catholics, whilst all the rest are not merely not Catholics, but, though a portion of them are set on a mode of reunion which even if attainable would be worthless, the great mass regard the whole idea as Utopian, and are intensely prejudiced against the idea of any reunion under the authority of the Apostolic See.

It is no use attempting to hide the facts from ourselves. It would be folly to do so; there can be no gain from the attempt. We have to accept the incontrovertible fact that the English-speaking world has, as far as the vast majority is concerned, lost the Catholic idea of religious unity, and has made for itself a literature of most varied kind, of wonderful power, of extraordinary range, all of it hostile, or at least indifferent, to those purposes which in the eyes of Catholics are of supreme importance, both for the well-being of our nation and for the welfare of the human race. The problem then, may be stated thus. The four millions who once gave allegiance in religious matters to the Holy See have expanded into a vast multitude, comprising many nations, the vast majority of whom utterly renounce that allegiance. And their common speech has been fashioned into a weapon, marvellous and beautiful, which for the most part has been engaged in a struggle against the renewal of such allegiance. And all the while, so widespread and so powerful has that English-speaking race become that no reunion of Christianity can be imagined if that race be left outside its pale. It is a problem as great as the world has ever seen, and we may well lose heart were its solution to depend entirely on human means. Where, then, are we to look if, even in a far-off future, a solution is to be found?

Where, that is to say, can we hope to find that needful point of contact which is to knit together once again in close alliance the Catholic Church and the English-speaking world? Not, he thought, amongst ourselves in England, for, though we shall play a telling part in the great work, inasmuch as "[England's] example, her literature, her traditions, her history, will always appeal with special force to all those

who use her speech," in England the Catholics are too small a force and are too much hampered by the deep-rooted prejudices of those in the midst of whom they live. Nor, in spite of their imposing hierarchy and Catholic population of over 15,000,000, did he think it likely that the Catholics of the United States would supply the necessary point of contact. Great though their share in the work will be, they are in the midst of a much larger Protestant population, which in spite of its willingness to look at old conditions from a new standpoint, is too much wedded to purely material aspirations, and to that abnormal seeking after wealth which has brought the curse which is devastating family life in the Old World. Nor was it possible to look to the Catholics of Australia or New Zealand or India as likely to supply the main influence in restoring the English-speaking world to the Catholic Church. Might we not, however, look to Canada for that influence?

But there is one country which seems destined by Divine Providence to take the leading place in bridging over the chasm that still separates the English-speaking peoples from their rightful position in the great work of evangelization entrusted to the Catholic Church. It is a country with a long and noble Catholic ancestry; with a long-established ecclesiastical hierarchy; with glorious traditions of devotion and self-sacrifice; with a population of which already two-fifths are professing Catholics, showing forth in their family lives those sound and wholesome moral principles which the Church has ever inculcated, but which, at the present day, other religious organizations possess little power to enforce. It is a country which is becoming every year more conscious of its own definite and separate nationality, while clinging with emphatic loyalty to the place that it holds within the British Empire. It is to Canada that we naturally look if we are to find once more a link that will unite all those who use the English speech, and bind them together in service to the Church of Jesus Christ.

This was the leading idea of the Opening Address, and as it says substantially what the Cardinal had said two years ago at Montreal, when he was taken to be recommending a substitution of the English for the French language as the religious speech of the French Canadians, he took occasion to point out that this was by no means his intention. "No one surely," he said at Norwich, "would desire that the influence of the French language should ever be lessened among those to whom it means so much." But a new population is

pressing into the Western provinces of Canada, which is and inevitably will continue to be English-speaking.

As then the Canadian Catholics have consecrated the language inherited from France to the preservation and development of the Catholic faith . . . so now are they called by God to consecrate another tongue, strong in its extent and influence, which for so long has been used almost exclusively in opposition to unity of faith.

This rectification, however, of a former misunderstanding was incidental, and the Cardinal concluded his Address with the expression of his desire that

this third National Catholic Congress, held in the land whence the English tongue has gone forth to the very ends of the earth, may be the means of arousing in the hearts of all our brethren throughout the world, whether they be subjects of this Empire or citizens of the great sister Commonwealth across the seas, a strong and unflinching desire and determination to do everything in their power, by prayer, by example, and by constant labour, to bring into obedience to Jesus Christ, and the teachings of His Church, all those who use as their mother tongue our ancient English speech.

As at Newcastle, the Bishop of Newport was invited to preach the sermon at the Sunday Mass, and again he used the opportunity to remind those attending the Congress of that indwelling and inworking of the Holy Ghost in the Church, the effects of which need to be steadily observed by the eye of faith in every important gathering of Catholics for Catholic works. Taking his text from the Epistle of the Sunday, "By the Spirit is given the word of wisdom; by the spirit is given the word of knowledge," the Bishop said:

We, as Catholics, possess a wisdom, and we possess a knowledge of an exquisite and special kind, and if we do not recognize this, we do ourselves the greatest injustice, and we run the risk of spoiling and wrecking our great inheritance. I have used two words that I find in this day's Epistle—Wisdom and Knowledge. Wisdom regards the highest principles of intelligence and of life; knowledge is of conduct, policy, and practice. . . . It seems to me that the gift of knowledge, which comes from the Divine Spirit equally with Wisdom, and which, like Wisdom, the Kingdom of God holds and possesses at all times from that divine indwelling Spirit, concerns a gathering like this Congress, even more specifically than Wisdom. Wisdom guides the great lines of the City of God. Knowledge has for its province to form and to put in action the Catholic life of this or that section

of the kingdom—a country, a province, a diocese. We are confronted first with the solid mass of English Protestantism. We have to hold our own—which is far from easy. We have to make the Faith known by speech, by writing, and by life. As old methods of controversy fall out of date, we have to learn new ones. As the old errors of dogmatic heterodoxy fade out of the actuality of the day, we have to recognize the newer and more fundamental heresies of materialism, monism, and religious indifference. We have to try to understand the mysterious attractions of a philosophy far more elusive and abstract than anything that was argued against by a Challoner, a Hay, a Milner, or a Wiseman of days gone by. We have to contend for the spiritual, the immortal, and the supernatural, we have to argue for God Himself and Jesus Christ. Religions of every degree of respectability and of every colour, are studied with a deference that has for its motive to discredit the religion of Christ. We are challenged to say why we should obey in religious matters, or why we should obey in anything. We are told that all men are equal, that discontent is divine, that property is theft, and morality an affection of the nerves. All this is very different from what our fathers had to deal with. But we, like them, have to build up the temple of the Lord. . . . And the thought that should animate us is this, that we possess the divine gift of knowledge. We are helped and guided in what we say, and design, and decide, and carry out, by this communication of the spirit which St. Paul says belongs to the kingdom of which we are a part. Am I claiming too much? Is it an exaggeration to say that such a meeting is specially guided?

The Bishop, in this morning sermon, concluded by exhorting his hearers to work with confidence in the ultimate success of their cause. In a similar strain, though following a different course, Mgr. Benson, in the Sunday evening sermon, made a welcome appeal for an invigorating optimism in Catholic workers: "It was in a spirit of optimism that the Apostles so long ago set out to convert Rome. It was by optimism that Catholics would convert England."

Presumably Mgr. Benson had partly in mind the apostleship of the motor-mission, in which he has had some share, and to the consideration of which one of the two general meetings of the Congress was devoted. We may then, though this general meeting was the last of the day's meetings, take it here, in close proximity with the Cardinal's Address and the two sermons, especially as the Cardinal, in summing up its results, judged it impossible to exaggerate the importance of the papers and speeches of that [Monday] after-

noon. "They had brought before the meeting the distinctive feature of the Congress." The Holy Father, in his recent division of England into three ecclesiastical provinces, had wished to make better provision for extending the true knowledge of the Catholic faith to the multitudes outside its fold; and "the discussion of that afternoon was meant to bring home to them the significance of this apostolic act, and to remind them all of their duty, not only to Catholics, but to the vast number of non-Catholics to be found all over the country." The Apostolate of the Motor Chapel, which, together with the other apostolic efforts of the Catholic Missionary Society, Dr. Herbert Vaughan, the Bishop of Northampton and others described at this meeting, seems to have had a surprising success in evoking a sympathetic interest in Catholicism in some country towns of East Anglia, and even effecting conversions. The pessimists, mindful of the drift backwards of some of those who had been similarly converted in country places elsewhere by previous missionary efforts, may urge the uselessness of making converts who will quickly relapse. But the moral of past disappointments in this field is not that we should abandon the marching order of our state, "Go and teach," but that more care should be taken to tend and to consolidate these neophyte congregations. And the discussion made it clear that the Bishop and his clergy are fully aware of this necessity, and are already making preparations to meet it. At five out of the six places so successfully visited by the Motor Chapel, as Dr. Herbert Vaughan explained, permanent missions have been established and entrusted to zealous priests. These will not forget that their congregations are made up of neophytes who need a very special care. But it is for God to give the increase to all this planting and watering, and it is just this that justifies the spirit of optimism for which Mgr. Benson appealed. May we hope too that the laity, stimulated by the discussion, will do their part in helping on the good work?

When one endeavours to take stock of the work done by the Congress one is embarrassed by the wealth and varied character of the information it brought together. Most of the papers have been, or will be, published in their complete text by the Catholic press. Would that we could also look forward to their republication in a more lasting form, in an official Report of the Congress? This was tried at Leeds after the Congress of 1910, but the volume failed to find

a sufficiency of purchasers. Hence the experiment was not repeated after the Newcastle Congress of last year; nor is it likely to be repeated for the Congress just ended. Those, therefore, who desire to preserve for themselves the text of papers so informing and so certain in time to be accounted an invaluable historical record of the stages of Catholic progress in its different departments, should be careful to lay by each year the copies of the Catholic weeklies in which these Congress reports are given. In this periodical all we can do is to remark on a few points which seem to be of special interest.

To begin with the Catholic Confederation, the objects of which are "to serve as a means of intercommunication between the Catholic Federations or other Federal Bodies in each diocese, to unify and solidify Catholic action, and to enlarge the usefulness of Local Federations by suggestions in Catholic matters." This project of Catholic Confederation is not yet accomplished, indeed, there are difficulties in the way of its complete accomplishment, due to the want of homogeneity in the units which it seeks to incorporate. Still the Confederation movement has made steady progress since the last Congress, and can now number twenty-five Federal Bodies as represented on its Central Council. May it continue to progress, for it is well recognized in these days that "majorities without organization are powerless, but organized minorities are all-powerful," and this is an attempt at perfecting our organization, which, in proportion as it is successful, is likely to be of immense value to us in our future struggles for the defence of fundamental Catholic rights! The Cardinal, in his visit to this section, emphasized its non-political character; it was a positive advantage to us to have Catholic adherents in more than one political party, but when our religious liberties are assailed, we should all stand together, and this organization would help us to do so; "his desire about Confederation was that it should be a movement uniting Catholics of all nationalities in this country, Catholics of all political views, and Catholics of all social positions." After discussing their own domestic problems, the Confederation joined in a unanimous protest against the Bill for dealing with the mentally deficient, which is now before Parliament.

In the Catholic Trades Unionists' Conference the Bishops have taken a very special interest. The genuine Catholic

spirit of the attendance in this section, which consisted mainly of delegates from the local branches, was conspicuous, and they welcomed with applause the announcement that the Bishops had since the last Congress given their formal approval to the Catholic Trades Unionists, and had asked the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster to give an evidence of that approval by undertaking the office of their Ecclesiastical superior. Both the Cardinal and Archbishop Whiteside visited the section and explained to it the Catholic principles which need to be applied to labour questions if these are to be satisfactorily solved. The right to strike under certain conditions was cordially recognized; and the nature of these conditions was clearly set forth. The right of the labourer to his living wage, as taught in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, was assumed as a first principle, but it was also claimed for capital that it too has its rights, and the truth was asserted that capital and labour being both necessary for industrial enterprise, should seek to become, not enemies, but friends, which they would be in proportion as each side welcomed the guidance of Catholic principles. It was also suggested to the Catholic Trades Unionists that their endeavour should be, in reliance on the self-convincing character of their principles, to win over to the acceptance of them the minds of their non-Catholic fellow-workmen. The work done by this section of the Congress consisted chiefly in the discussion of some resolutions, of which the first was a renewed rejection of Secularist education. Since the last Congress the Catholic Trades Unionists appear to have made considerable progress in getting their Trades Unions to see that, in incorporating in their programme a resolution in favour of destroying the Voluntary Schools, they had egregiously exceeded the limits of their proper action as guardians of their trade interests. They confidently look forward to getting this obnoxious resolution expunged from their books. Another step taken at the Congress was remarkable as being—as the Secretary, Mr. T. F. Burns said—the first occasion in which they had felt called upon to declare against Socialism. “While admitting the need of nationalization of particular commodities as an act of policy,” ran their resolution, which was unanimously passed, “this Conference declares against the principle of the nationalization of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange.”

The Catholic Social Guild, though so recently born, has

already become an important element in our Catholic organization. Its primary purpose is to bring Catholic students and workers together and enable them to study deeply, with the aid of the best sources of information, the conditions of the labour and other social problems which confront all workers for social betterment. The Study Clubs, which with this purpose the Guild is establishing wherever it can, are indeed essential for social workers, for, if they are to hope for satisfactory results, they must realize that it is with facts, not imaginations, they will have to deal, and that hence the facts must be known and known all round, so that the Fallacy of Division, now-a-days so common, may not lead them astray. At the Congress this section was a centre of eager interest. Its two meetings were held in crowded rooms, and the papers, contributed by Father T. Wright, of Hull, on the "Practical Aspect of a Catholic Social Programme," and Mr. George Milligan on "The Living Wage," were highly applauded. Father Wright took into his paper five of the six points which make up so far the programme of the Social Guild, Poor Law Reform, Catholic Citizenship, Housing Reform, School Clinics, Trades Schools, leaving the sixth point, the Living Wage, to Mr. Milligan. Both papers were on right lines, and Mr. Milligan drew a moving picture of the present intolerable condition of the poor, to the truth of which we shall all assent. He said justly that in seeking to remove this evil we must take our stand on the doctrine of the living wage, the payment of which should be the first charge on all industrial undertakings; and he did well to remind his hearers that "as the Holy Father has said, this is not a matter of freedom of choice but of simple duty." Perhaps, indeed, in assigning absolute figures for the living wage he failed to realize the complexity of the subject. If the effect of a general rise of wages should be to raise prices, it does not meet the case to say that people must learn to limit their wants so as to be prepared to pay higher prices for such commodities as they must have. If prices rise they must rise for the wage-earners as well as for others, and proportionately the purchasing power of the increased wages goes down—unless, indeed, the previous cheap prices are maintained under free-trade by importations from abroad, which would mean that the English industries, out of which the higher wages are to come, are destroyed. This consideration must not be allowed to tell

against the doctrine of the living wage, or to obscure the cruel fact that in many trades the existing wages fall outrageously short of any reasonable standard of just remuneration. But it shows that the problem of fixing the scale of a living wage is more complex than at first sight appears. By what way then is the reorganization of our industrial system on the basis of the living wage, urgently as it is required, to be brought into general use? We put the question, not that it can be answered here, but to call attention to Mr. Milligan's particularly fine paper, so conspicuous for its insight into the conditions of the problem and its true Catholic spirit, which he read at the afternoon mass-meeting on the Sunday. One passage in this paper we must quote, as touching on a point which is often left out of account; but is essential to a satisfactory solution, for compulsory legislation, though it may do something, cannot do all.

Until we came back to something like the methods of the trade guilds in modern commercialism there would be unrest and rebellion amongst the men and women labourers of these lands, and rightly so. The Catholic could not be behind his Socialist neighbour in condemning injustice; but while the latter taught the unsound social doctrine of class war and trade hatreds, the Catholic must believe in the general restoration of Christian love and brotherhood, with all the obligations of justice and fair dealing that true Christianity imposes. He believed that continual intercourse between representatives of capital and representatives of labour—the joint board principle—would, though strained at first, ultimately prove to both sides their identity of interest, their fundamental unity, and in so far would approximate to the spirit of the ancient guilds. But of course there was much greed and prejudice and wrong opinion first to be swept aside, much social education to be disseminated, and the onus of this education would lie upon Catholics. The Catholic social policy was clear, and unlike the only serious rival in the field, the Socialist, it was comprehensive. It held the other world as well as a this-world view. But the Catholic policy needed to be a truly Catholic policy, understood, believed in, and practised by Catholic people. If the rich and poor, noble and lowly, ignorant and learned, of their people believed alike in the matter of social action, if they were as unanimous in the matter of Catholic principles of social action as they were in their unanimity of belief in supernatural truths, they would be a magnificent object-lesson to their separated brethren.

To the Catholic Guardians' Association, under its devoted and able administrators, we are indebted for truly wonder-

ful services rendered in the cause of the poor, since its institution not so many years back. It works quietly, but it has known how to profit in the largest measure for the good of those who come under the Poor Law, by the more generous interpretation of its Parliamentary powers which the Home Office has adopted in recent years. At the Norwich Congress, in co-operation with three other kindred Associations, the International Catholic Association for the Protection of Young Girls, the Association for the Care of Catholic Crippled Children, and the Catholic Emigration Association, it held a Child Rescue Conference. The most distinctive feature, however, of its proceedings at Norwich was its discussion of the drastic Bill for dealing with the Feeble-minded. Against this assault, so fraught with dangers of various kinds to the rights and liberties of this unfortunate class, the meeting recorded a strong protest, after listening to papers by Father Vincent McNabb, O.P., and Dr. Alexander Mooney. Dr. Mooney's paper is to be found elsewhere in this number, and in view of the urgency of the subject we particularly recommend it to our readers.

The Catholic Stage Guild is the latest accession to the list of our Associations. Its object is to enable Catholic artists on tour to keep in touch with the local Catholic clergy, to ascertain without difficulty the places and houses where Mass is said, and also to band themselves together among themselves. The proportion of Catholics on the stage in this country is above the average, and more of them endeavour to fulfil their religious duties, often under very serious difficulties, than they are given credit for. They feel the dangers of their profession and are anxious to guard against them. They hope that, through the new Guild, they may be aided in this way, and also that they may get occasional relief from the monotony of their existence when on tour, by getting to know some of the local Catholics. Two good papers were read at this section, one on the Dangers of the Stage by Father Thomas Kelly, S.J., the other on Catholic Art, by Miss Mary Rorke. The Cardinal visited this section, and expressed his warm approval of their Guild.

The Catholic Women's League was as usual very much to the fore at Norwich. We have made a friendly criticism on one point in its arrangement of the Sunday afternoon mass-meeting, but the papers then read were particularly instructive and should be awarded a high place among the assets

of the Congress. In its two day meetings it combined with some other societies, and discussed questions regarding Voluntary Work and Catholic Emigration.

The five Associations to which we have so far referred formed a group by themselves, being all occupied with questions regarding the social condition of Catholics, especially of the poor. Others, for whose proceedings we have no space left, but whose names and programmes are given in the *Congress Guide*, considered under various aspects similar problems of Catholic life, spiritual or temporal. The Catholic Truth Society and the Catholic Reading Guild have for their object that production and distribution of Catholic Literature, which is of such fundamental importance for the carrying on of every department of Catholic work. They may be taken, therefore, as forming a group by themselves. The objects of the Catholic Truth Society are by this time well known. Besides the production of cheap and good Catholic Literature, it strives to promote its circulation, and for the last two years, thanks to a suggestion and donation very kindly made by his Eminence, has been able to engage for this purpose the services of an active Organizing Secretary, to whose efforts a decided increase in the circulation of its tracts is due. The Catholic Reading Guild, on the other hand, confines itself to promoting the circulation of Catholic Literature, if under this heading we may include endeavours to cultivate a taste for Catholic Reading, but then it seeks to promote the circulation of Catholic Literature of all kinds, and notably the circulation of Catholic newspapers. Still, in the literature it circulates the publications of the Catholic Truth Society engage its special attention. Thus the objects of the two Societies overlap. That, however, is gain rather than loss, though it suggests that they should be in close alliance with each other, and that this should be, the Cardinal, as President of both Societies, expressed his strong desire. Suggestions for possible modes of combined action have indeed been already made.

The Catholic Reading Guild came in for high praise at Norwich. Its recent expansion drew the congratulations of many present at the Congress, and the Cardinal told them "he was agreeably surprised at the enormous and extraordinary progress it had made during the last few months: he wished it every possible success: it seemed to be solving a problem to which his Eminent predecessor often made

allusion: they had given proofs of energy and public spirit such as had rarely been seen in the past." The two papers read at its meeting on Monday morning were by Father Wright, of Hull, and by Father Plater, S.J. They were thoroughly practical papers on the methods by which the Guild might promote its objects, Father Wright's confining itself to the reading of Catholic newspapers, and the sort of parochial organization by which this good custom could be greatly helped, and Father Plater addressing himself to expedients for the spread of other literature. Both papers were much praised.

On Saturday morning the Catholic Truth Society discussed its own position and needs, papers being read on this subject by Father Hayden, S.J., and Mr. James Britten, the Honorary Secretary. One point brought out was the inadequate response which had been made to the appeal at Newcastle for a fund of £500 to enable the Society to carry through a sadly-needed series of anti-Rationalist publications. It is true that the number of those who have so far contributed to this fund is very small indeed, still, thanks to a few generous benefactors, it was possible to announce that £400 had been contributed within the year, so we may hope that the rest, and more than the rest, will come before long. On the Monday morning the attendance at the C.T.S. meeting listened to two admirable papers on Catholicity in East Anglia, one by Father Norbert Birt, the other by Father Bede Jarrett, O.P. Father Bede, fittingly, for the hall where they were had formerly been a church of his Order, told how the Dominicans had been in Norwich for 300 years before they were turned out, and so obtained an opportunity of setting before the Congress a picture of the attachment of the Norwich citizens to Catholicism in the days of Faith. Father Norbert, in a carefully and copiously documented essay, showed in what spirit, in the teeth of a fierce and long-enduring persecution, a faithful seed of East Anglians kept the light burning from the dark days of Elizabeth to these brighter days, when, with the advent of religious freedom, Catholicism is displaying its never-failing power to renew its youth. These two historical papers, the prompt publication of which we trust we may expect, prepared the way felicitously for the general meeting in the afternoon when the Catholic Missionary Society rendered an account of its efforts for the revival of the faith in the country districts of East

Anglia. In the general meeting on the Saturday afternoon, the organization of which fell to the Catholic Truth Society, the subject chosen for discussion was Catholic Literature. Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew and Mr. Wilfrid Ward wrote papers on this subject, and Mr. Ambrose Willis one on the Distribution of Catholic Literature. Cardinal Newman in one place says, "When a Catholic Literature in the English tongue is spoken of as a *desideratum*, no reasonable person will mean by 'Catholic Works' much more than the 'works of Catholics,'" and we fancy that this is what was intended by those who drew up the Norwich programme; they wished to have a discussion which would take stock of the present state of the literature, religious and secular, which Catholic writers have produced, how far it extends, and how far it has or has not attained to a good literary standard. As a matter of fact both Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew and Mr. Wilfrid Ward understood that their assigned task was to consider whether Catholic Literature is an intelligible phrase, and if so, what is its precise meaning. The result was to raise a discussion which, if a bit academic, was interesting and educative, and well befitting a C.T.S. platform. Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew contended that in one sense Catholic Literature was a misnomer, unless it meant merely to designate books on Catholic subjects; but in another sense all literature that was true literature at all was Catholic. The Church, he said, had always dealt with literature in this latter fashion, "never disinheriting herself of what even heathen wisdom and beauty had left to us, and never sparing her condemnation of what was vile or untrue because it was written by a Catholic." "Apart from a specialized subject like theology there was," he thought, "no such thing as Catholic literature," but he discussed the relation of the Church to various provinces of literature, "history that was time's memory," "poetry, the golden bridge to a lovely land of higher thoughts and ideals," and "prose romance which could be an instrument for the lifting of the mind and preparing it for the reception of other more definite teaching." The Church's action towards literature, as towards the other arts, had ever been, by its benedictions and condemnations to set before literature its highest and truest ideals, and in this sense literature should look to the Catholic Church for guidance and inspiration.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward, in his stimulating paper, raised some questions which we are disappointed at not being able to dis-

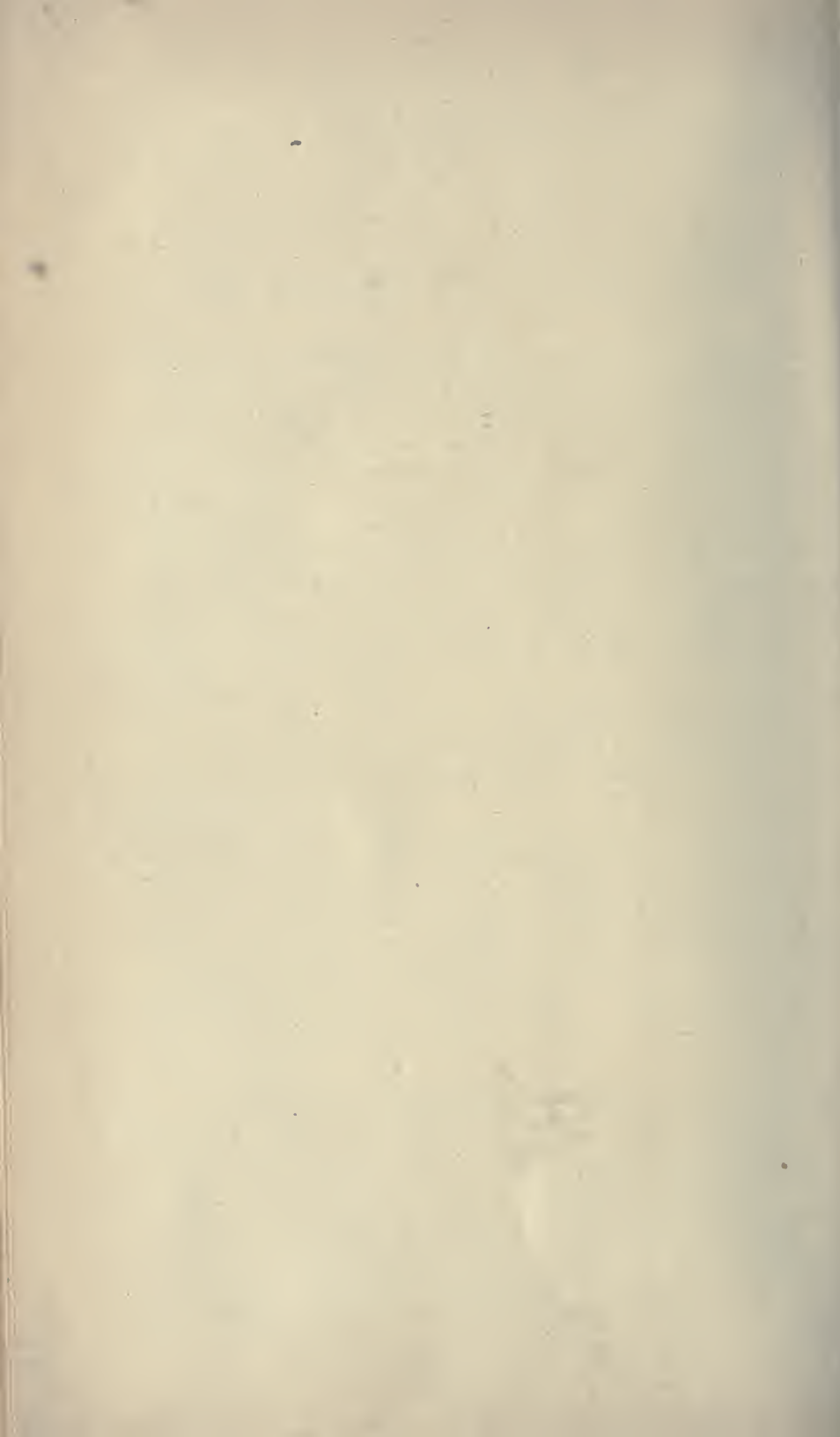
cuss at length. He referred to Cardinal Newman's thoughts on English Catholic Literature, in his *Idea of a University*. He found them to be full of insight, but at the same time rather provoking, inasmuch as the Cardinal confines himself, directly, to "investigating what the object [English Catholic Literature] is not." Summarising, however, Newman's chief contentions, he said: "Using the term 'literature' as it is understood at a university, [Newman] maintains that English Catholic Literature ought not to be polemical or, in the disparaging sense of the term, 'sectarian'; that to engage in it is not to undertake a clerical or directly missionary work; and moreover, that no English Catholic Literature can take the place of our existing classical English Literature which is not Catholic." Mr. Ward, whilst accepting these pronouncements as "just" so far, and agreeing that "sectarianism" is incompatible with the special quality of literature, contended for a distinction in this respect between sectarianism and specialism. Sectarianism is a "quality which is fatal to the claim of any work to take its place in classical literature. . . ." To be sectarian "means that you see things only from one standpoint, and do not appreciate the other . . . and, human nature being what it is, bias and ignorance generally help to make a sectarian view quite false as well as inadequate." But specialism is a positive qualification for a writer of sound literature, and "the writings of Catholics may . . . perfectly well occupy a special field of English classical literature, a field marked out for them by the subjects in which, as Catholics, they very naturally have unusual facilities for becoming specialists; and it is perfectly possible for them to do this and yet to avoid the sectarianism which prevents books from taking their place in general literature for general readers."

Thus Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew and Mr. Ward are in substantial agreement that the note in English Catholic Literature which will give it, and alone can give it, *droit de cité* in the commonwealth of English classical literature, is the specialist knowledge of Catholicism from which it springs, and the sincerity with which it strives to give a well-based statement of the exact truth. If, however, we may venture to differ somewhat from these two competent critics, we would contend that, whilst this expresses well the aim at which Catholic writers should direct their literary efforts, it sins both by defect and excess in its assignment of the essentials of classical literature in itself, if we understand by this latter term

what the world generally understands by it. It leaves out, doubtless inadvertently, the feature which distinguishes literature from mere writing, that essential feature the nature of which Newman, in his chapter on "Literature" in his *Idea of a University*, expounds so lucidly, but which we must be content to define most inadequately, yet so as to indicate sufficiently what we refer to, as consisting in fine thoughts expressed in language which is itself fine just in this that it gives such complete expression to what is lucid, or striking, or beautiful in the thought expressed. On the other hand, is it true that what is "sectarian" can never hope to be accounted literature? Cardinal Bourne, in his Opening Address, quoted some words from this same paper by Cardinal Newman on Literature, in which the latter says "we may most seriously protest against the spirit which ever lives, and the tendency which ever operates, in every page of [the writings of Milton and Gibbon]; but there they are, an integral portion of English literature . . . we cannot deny their power." In other words, these works are literature, but literature saturated with sectarianism. Or take again the *Lettres Provinciales*. Regarded from the point of view of truthfulness, the work is not merely sectarian but fraudulent, as any competent scholar like Dr. Karl Weiss discovers at once when he examines it. Yet in its purely literary aspect it is a masterpiece, and just because it has this merit it has been able to capture honest minds, and delude them into the belief that its charges must be true because they are expressed in such an exquisite form.

We have already referred to Monday's general meeting. In the final mass-meeting attention was called to the recent and still continuing persecution in Portugal, and a resolution of protest was passed. The Cardinal also called attention to the abominable attempt to pervert young Catholic girls and others by bare-faced Souperism which is being carried on at present at Rome, with the aid of money supplied by English and American Protestants. The Roman branch of the Catholic Women's League has been asked to take this matter in hand. In acknowledging a vote of thanks, His Eminence congratulated all concerned in the organization of the Congress on their complete success; and declared that he and the Bishops would go away convinced by its proceedings of "the immense latent vitality to be found in that part of England."

S. F. S.



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The Plymouth Congress.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Plymouth Congress.

IT was felt to be an experiment when, after two enthusiastic Congresses amidst the teeming Catholic populations of the North, the selection was made for our Third National Congress of a city in the East which, if large and important in itself, could claim but a small body of resident Catholics. The result, however, of this somewhat bold venture surpassed all expectations, and suggested the expediency of choosing for the scenes of future Congresses centres of influence in different parts of the kingdom, and relying for the numbers requisite to make the meetings impressive, not only on the resident Catholics but on the growing number of those who, their appetites whetted by the experience of past Congresses, may henceforth be trusted to flow in for the occasion from other parts of the kingdom.

It is obviously from a motive of this kind that Plymouth was chosen for the Congress of the present year. The West of England, once so Catholic, is a region where at one time during the long period of penal legislation the Faith had become almost extinct. The tide eventually turned there as elsewhere in the country, and, since the restoration of the hierarchy, thanks particularly to the zealous enterprise of Bishop William Vaughan, considerable progress has been made in multiplying churches and schools, and in building up an organized Catholic population. This Western Diocese is, indeed, still behind the great dioceses of the Midlands and the North in the measure of its development, which is not to be wondered at considering how scattered in those parts are the adherents of the ancient faith, and how from their geographical situation they lie apart from the main centres of Catholic life. There has arisen, however, among the Catholics of the West, as was evident to those who attended the recent Congress, a spirit of healthy optimism and determination, which argues well for their religious future, now that their days of isolation are over, and they are bent on taking

their full share in the religious movements of their brethren elsewhere. Thus regarded, the choice of Plymouth for this year's Congress was certainly justified, and the result again has exceeded what seemed possible. This Congress was a success throughout, and—except for some of the sectional meetings in which the subjects discussed, though of the highest importance, were of a technical nature and required, as they obtained, sympathizers, needing to be weighed not counted—the attendance was everywhere encouraging, the papers and discussions of the best quality, and the spirit enthusiastic.

The Assembly Rooms, where the Catholic Truth Society, the Catholic Reading Guild and the Catholic Social Guild held their sectional meetings, were somewhat removed from the rooms assigned to the other societies, and this was somewhat of a deterrent for those who wished to take stock of the proceedings of the Congress as a whole. But it was a point in the arrangements for which the conditions of the locality were, as they always must be, responsible. One does not see how anything better could have been arranged at Plymouth, and the grouping of the other sections in the Cathedral Hall, the Notre Dame Convent, and St. Boniface's College was admirable. It was delightful too to witness once more a feature that had been discontinued at these annual gatherings, for the children from the various schools of the three towns filled the Guildhall on the Sunday afternoon, and manifested by their enthusiasm their delight at having their part in the celebrations. It has become a custom for the civic authorities to give our Congress a welcome, and pleasant hospitalities have been exchanged in this way more than once. This year the Mayor of Plymouth carried his cordialities a step further, and with great kindness took it upon himself to give the *conversazione* which it is usual to have as part of the proceedings. Nor was it only the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth who showed the visitors this kindness. The Bishop took opportunity more than once to make his acknowledgments to the non-Catholics of the town, whom as a body he had found, throughout the trying labours of preparation, ever ready with their aid and sympathy. This again is what we have experienced on former occasions, and may hope to experience still more, as people come to realize that it is an object of these Congresses to emphasize not the points of difference but the points of agreement which subsist between ourselves and those of other faiths amidst whom we live.

The papers and proceedings of the Congress have been or will be published in the Catholic press, and we may trust that those interested in Catholic progress will treasure up such valuable matter, and made themselves familiar with it. For our part we can only call attention to a few leading points.

The Cardinal's Inaugural Address as usual set the keynote to the proceedings, and was on Religious Indifference. Referring to the change of feeling towards Catholics which characterizes the present generation of Englishmen, and tracing it to its causes, satisfactory and otherwise, his Eminence dwelt on one cause which is probably more efficacious than the rest—the growth of religious indifference. The principles of the Reformation, gradually but surely, have worked themselves out to their logical conclusion. The transference of ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the Pope to the Crown has effectually destroyed the very notion of submission to any religious authority; the setting up of the Bible interpreted by the private judgment of the individual has led to the most widespread differences of opinion even on points which seem to be of supreme importance to the spiritual well-being of mankind; and the result is that the religious leaders, high and low alike, must perforce speak only as individuals uttering opinions more or less weighty which it is for their hearers to decide whether they will accept or reject. Can we wonder that church attendances fall off to a degree which causes alarm to those who have religion at heart? “Can we wonder that the ordinary busy man, much engrossed in the daily concerns of his family, business, and profession, has grown weary of all this uncertainty, and has come to the conclusion that it will be time enough for him to go to church and to give heed to professors of religion when the latter have made up their minds what they themselves really believe, and what they are prepared to teach as definitely calling for men's credence.” Nor is this all. “The indissolubility of the marriage tie is the essential bond of family and social life. Yet this Christian ideal is a very high and lofty ideal, making a demand upon weak human nature which only Christianity, with its mighty supernatural helps, can make enduring. Accordingly, with the decay of religious belief, and the loss of these supernatural helps, the demands of this ideal become intolerable, and legislation is now threatened which, if it should come to pass, must have the most injurious effects on family life.” Our schools, too, as we know so well, are infected by the same

disastrous malady. "For forty years these principles of indifference to definite religious teaching, and of the impossibility of knowing actually, accurately, and without fear of mistake, what God has been pleased to reveal, have been taught in our elementary schools. It is said that the religious teaching in the historic secondary schools of the land is not dissimilar in character. Recent administrative acts penalize all modern secondary day schools if they venture to give religious teaching of a more definite and dogmatic type. Small place for amazement, then, if the many generations of children already trained in Board or Council Schools furnish few recruits to the religious organizations of the country, or if the so-called 'ruling classes' fail to approach the questions of the hour from the standpoint of Christian faith." And the end is not even yet in sight. "God and His claims upon His creatures, His revelation and our belief therein, the duties and rights of God's creatures in relation to one another, all these have to contend against the strongest cravings and impulses, and passions of our nature. It is religion alone that can bring us to the due fulfilment of our obligations to our Maker and our fellows. Take away from men a sense of duty, and there will rise up in their hearts evil strivings of every kind seeking after satisfaction, regardless of consequences hereafter in which they have no belief. And sooner or later self-seeking and selfishness will bring forth external fruits to the destruction of social order and to the peril of the State."

His Eminence went on to insist on the danger to Catholics which inevitably results from their exposure to these baneful influences of their environment. "It could not be otherwise, for no one at the present day is able to remove himself from the discussions, and the questionings, and the denials that meet him in what he hears and reads almost every day of his life; [whilst] the tendency of our human nature is instinctively to slip away from or allow insensibly to glide from us, anything that places a restraint upon the speculations of our minds or the longings of our hearts."

In a final paragraph the Cardinal drew attention to the discussions to be held in the two general meetings, arranged respectively by the Catholic Social Guild and the Catholic Truth Society, each of which would have a direct bearing on the problems raised by this religious indifference, and he ended by observing that, whilst the direct concern of the Congress was with the Catholics, it would be a joy to it if

anything brought out in its proceedings proved to be a help to others as well.

Insufficient wages and the conditions of life which they imply have much to do with the absence of religion among those whose minds are so crushed and maimed by anxiety about even a sufficiency of daily bread that it is practically beyond their power to raise their thoughts to higher things. There are, indeed, wonderful examples of heroic constancy among the very poor, who find in their religion, which is all that they possess, fortitude and resignation in an almost unendurable existence. But these are the exceptions, showing forth in their lives what God's grace can do in spite of countless obstacles. The matter proposed for consideration by the Catholic Truth Society aims at meeting face to face the attacks that are made by Rationalists on all religious belief, and has been chosen with the purpose of endeavouring to arouse a more generous co-operation on the part of Catholics in the work which the Society has already done in that direction, and now proposes to extend still further.

Our first concern is naturally with those who share with us, as members of the Catholic Church, the full revelation of things eternal which God has vouchsafed to us by His Divine Son. We desire to prepare them for, and strengthen them against, the dangers which now so frequently and in so many forms beset their faith. But if, in so doing, we be privileged to help others as well, and to bring more clearly before the minds of our fellow-countrymen that the one sure way of protecting and preserving religious principle and belief among us is by going back to the old ideals of our ancestors, and recognising that the possession of truth is the only foundation upon which the practice of religion can be built, and that mere religious opinions are but as the shifting sands, upon which no wise man can trust himself to dwell, then will our Congress be doubly and trebly blessed by accomplishing something that is of supreme importance for the future and the well-being of our country.

Disregarding the chronological order we may refer next, in view of its intimate connection with the subject of the Inaugural Address, to the fine General Meeting which was held, under the auspices of the Catholic Truth Society, in the Guildhall on the Monday afternoon. The subject discussed was Christianity in England and the Church's opportunity. The Cardinal presided and Father Martindale, S.J., and Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew read papers. Father Martindale opened the discussion by expressing his personal conviction that, "while it is true that the Christian religion in England is going

through a difficult and dangerous passage, yet it is quite as true that an altogether unique opportunity is given to Catholics." The criticism of the nineteenth century applied to the records of the Christian religion, to its history and to its life, had been mainly destructive,—it had failed, or perhaps scarcely attempted, to replace what it had destroyed. Yet so far from being agreed among themselves, these destructive critics, who had been constrained by the exigencies of their own principles to come back in many particulars to what tradition and Catholic scholarship has always said, were now criticizing one another and pulling to pieces the very work which had claimed to pull to pieces orthodoxy.

The consequence of this—and this destructive criticism has been applied, of course, to everything alike, political, economic, and social institutions and theories as much as religion—has naturally been, as far as the ordinary man goes and even the scientific student, a feeling of depression and pessimism; a sensation that nothing is known or can be known; that principles and traditions are alike untrustworthy; that the past has played us false, and that the future does not show much hope. Agnosticism and pessimism, intellectually, have resulted; and practically, in the sphere of social problems, discontent, anger, and tendencies even to revolution and anarchy. In the sphere of morals, the break-down of old beliefs such as the sanctity of marriage and supreme value of the family is exercising a destructive effect. Men who are able to pull up, so to say, in time, are clamouring for something positive, constructive—dogmatic in short. And this is the chance of the Catholic Church.

For the Catholic Church is the one institution on earth which still, as always, speaks with a definite and confident voice and many, deeply impressed by the contrast it offers to all these negations and uncertainties, are looking towards it with wistful eyes.

France, with her amazing power of recuperation, has struggled with this hydra which was strangling her and demanded a new principle, ideal, and dogma; and dogma for France means only one thing—the Church's dogma, Catholic dogma, in the family, in the political, artistic, intellectual and spiritual spheres. . . . In England . . . more and more people are wanting exactly what we, and only we, can give them. I mean they want principles absolutely firm and extremely flexible, and we alone possess these. . . .

And I suppose that this accounts for what is so noticeable,

that is, practically everywhere, even in the least Catholic circles, among factory folk, slum folk, commercial folk, university folk, a Catholic priest seems treated, somehow, with a unique respect, as being in possession of something special, a definite position, an unmistakable dogma, an unflinching moral code, a presentable and coherent and cogent philosophy of life. He and the Church he stands for are recognized, right or wrong, anyhow as different from all else.

Continuing, Father Martindale referred in illustration to those who are seeking for guidance how to deal with the problems of our social unrest, with topics like sweated labour, strikes, and everything connected with the family and marriage; to those, at the opposite extreme, who are eager to hear "what the tremendous experience and scientific investigation of the Catholic Church has to say, and say authoritatively," on subjects like Mysticism and the transcendental world; to the young generations now coming up to Oxford, who, in contrast with the materialism of a generation ago, are displaying an intelligent and quite unpriggish interest in religious matters. Then he appealed to Catholics, of all classes, at an hour when so many souls are holding out their hands to them, to equip themselves adequately according to their degree, and be ready in mind and morals and sympathy, to be the help, not as often happens, the hindrance in their path.

Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew, who read a second paper at this meeting, fully accepted Father Martindale's contention that the English people, owing to their divisions, were as a nation losing their hold on Christianity, and many of them were turning in their perplexity towards the Catholic Church. But he took occasion from the thought to emphasize the importance of clinging to our Catholic schools, for it was more than anything else State-provided undenominational schools which had brought it about that persons could grow up in the land without even knowing who Jesus Christ was. He insisted also that, much as could be done by Catholic literature and Catholic societies, the work of the clergy and of the teachers steadily but quietly building up generations of good practising and edifying Catholics, were the main influences which tell for the healing of the whole country. "For it has come to this, that the future of Christianity in England will depend on the quality of those who make up the Catholic Church in England."

In its sectional meeting on the Saturday morning the

Catholic Truth Society discussed the relations of Catholics with Nonconformists. When this title was announced it may have conveyed to some Nonconformists the impression that an attack upon their religious tenets was meditated. On the contrary the note of conciliatory approach struck by the Bishop of Plymouth in his introductory remarks and by Prior McNabb, O.P., who read the paper, was taken up by every speaker that followed, and was welcomed by the audience with applause. In days particularly when the solvents of all religions are so active in the country, those who still believe in the divinity of Christ should strive to come together as much as possible; our endeavour then should be to understand the Nonconformists and to get them to understand us. In some respects the present-day thought of the Nonconformists is approximating to that of the Catholic Church. They had originally taken their stand on the principle that spirituality can only be attained by direct intercourse with our Lord, on which therefore neither Church authority nor Church forms and ceremonies should be permitted to intrude. But spiritual experience of this kind is essentially individualistic, and is discredited as a doctrinal test by the varieties of belief to which it is found to give rise. Hence of late years there had been a tendency among Nonconformists to supplement subjective by objective experience, and to look out for an organized expression of this latter. The effect was to cause them to set more store than formerly on Church organization, and this was leading some of them to understand better the Catholic belief in the Church as a divinely founded external institution. This was the position taken up by Prior McNabb, but may we not go a step further, and ask our Nonconformist friends to consider whether their appeal to organized spiritual experience does not mark an approach to the Catholic appeal to Holiness as one of the Notes of the Church? And may we not, whilst inviting Nonconformists to try and understand us, as we are trying to understand them, ask them to reconsider their principle of the essential individualism of true spirituality and reflect whether it does not forget that men are not pure spirits, but spirits united with material bodies, and unable to express themselves adequately save through the intermediacy of these?

The combined Meeting on Monday morning of the C.T.S. and the C.R.G. yielded some interesting matter. Miss Irene

Hernaman, in a paper crammed with encouraging statistics, gave an account of what is being done on the Continent and in North America, for the production and circulation of Catholic literature. This paper may be found elsewhere in our pages.

The Catholic Social Guild as far as years go is still in its infancy, but in the successive Congresses of the last three years it has come more and more to the fore, and this time it shared with the Catholic Truth Society the distinction of providing a General Meeting. The effect of the education it has promoted by its Study Clubs, now some hundreds in number, was reflected in the reality of this splendid meeting, which, as last year, was on the principle of the Living Wage. This principle must needs be accepted by all Catholics since Leo XIII., in his Encyclical on the condition of the working classes, has laid it down as an essential condition of the morality of wage-paying. The only difference can be as to the translation of the principle into actual figures in the concrete cases. Nor can there be any doubt but that in the case of what is called sweated labour, the principle is monstrously violated. A convincing demonstration of this was provided at the meeting by Mr. Mallon, the Secretary of the National Anti-Sweating League, who brought a few of the class thus sweated to explain the nature of their work and of the wages they could get by it. That shirt-making, to take an instance thus illustrated, should be paid at a shilling a dozen, the worker being able to make a dozen a day, that is, to earn only six shillings a week, is simply inhuman, and the audience was in full sympathy with Mr. Mallon in his account of the use it had been possible to make of the Trade Boards Act of 1909 in enforcing, under penalties, the raising of the rate of wages in certain trades and districts, in some cases by a hundred per cent.¹ These are extreme cases as regards which there can be no doubt about the justice of the Trade Boards' intervention. But State intervention, if sometimes necessary, is not an ideal method of determining these trade questions. Generally the object kept in view by those anxious for the betterment of present conditions should be to arrive at a method by which employer and employed can co-operate in fixing the living wage, on the lines laid down by the Encyclical, for their particular trades and districts. Unfortunately in this country there are few Catholic employers

¹ On this, see Mr. Mallon's article in the *Catholic Social Year Book* for 1913.

of labour to be brought thus to co-operate with their *employés* on Catholic principles. But Mr. Milligan put it admirably last year at the Norwich Congress, saying "he believed that continual intercourse between representatives of capital and representatives of labour—the joint board principle—would, though strained at first, ultimately prove to both sides their identity of interest, their fundamental unity, and in so far would approximate to the spirit of the ancient Guilds." And one may refer also to M. Goyau's *l'Œuvre sociale de l'Etat Belge* for an example of how this sort of harmony between two parties previously hostile to each other has been gradually cemented, and works well in the Belgian *Conseils de l'Industrie et du Travail*.

We often hear it said by those indignant at the state of the very poor, "What is the Catholic Church doing to reform it? Why does she not identify herself with this measure or that?" To this question the Bishop of Northampton replied at this Social Guild Meeting. We are not, he said, by any means at the end of this controversy about the living wage, but neither are we at the very beginning. Progress had been made even in our own day. The godless, inhuman economics of the early Victorian days were dead, buried, and damned. The industrial classes had organized themselves, and had become a power in the world. But best of all, there had been created in this country a mass of public opinion which had been growing year by year, so that the claims of the working-classes were set forth in every section of the press, in every kind of literature, and, if it were asked what is the Church doing in all this, the answer was that the Church can do nothing single-handed. It was not her way to identify herself with political measures, but she tried to make her genial influence felt in the counsels of the employers, in the lay trades-unions amongst the labour representatives, in the various political parties, and especially in that public opinion which is so great a force in the world. For, as the Church cannot effect anything without those natural agencies, so neither can these natural agencies effect anything without the Church that created European civilization, and has redeemed it from destruction over and over again. The Catholic Trades Union Guild and the Catholic Social Guild and other like organizations were in fact agencies through which she was working for the end in view and working with effect.

The Catholic Social Guild also had a sectional meeting on the Monday morning. At this meeting the Archbishop of Liverpool made an important observation on a new version of Socialism which was being propounded. We pass it over here, as it forms the subject of another article in this issue.

The Catholic Confederation was in evidence both on the Saturday and the Monday, and was busy with its scheme of confederating the many local Federations at work at home with the ulterior object of uniting in the great International Catholic Confederation which is steadily forming throughout the world. Confederation here in England is a scheme which has not yet surmounted its initial difficulties, as the discussion at Plymouth showed. Still it has scored progress since its inauguration as an Association at the Leeds Congress three years ago, and it has a great future before it, if it can get its character more generally understood.

Of the other Societies taking part in the Congress we must pass over the Young Men's Society, the Ransomers, both of which scored crowded and enthusiastic meetings, the Catholic Stage Guild, the Catholic Prisoners' Aid Society, the Catholic Temperance Guild, the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, the Catholic Approved Societies—all of which are taking their indispensable share in the Catholic action of the country. Of the meetings held by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith we are speaking elsewhere. To the meetings of the Catholic Trades Unionists, and the Catholic Guardians we must make our references briefer than we would wish them to be.

The Congresses have taught us to turn with very special interest to the meetings of the Catholic Trades Unionists. These are not, as their President, Mr. James Berrell, had occasion to protest once more, the members of a Catholic Trades Union, a thing both impossible and undesirable, but Catholic members of the different Trades Unions, who feel the necessity of meeting together sometimes to study the Catholic aspect of certain questions which face them in their quality of Trade Unionists. This is as it should be, and the more they are seen at the Congresses the more does their loyalty to their religion and the justice of their position shine out. At Plymouth they were still engaged in their task of resisting the endeavours of certain sections of their fellow-unionists, who profit by the inadvertence of the main body to commit their unions to kinds of propagandism out of all re-

lation with their trade interests, such as that on behalf of enforcing on all a purely secularist system of State education, and that more recently attempted by the Lambeth Labour Party Conference on behalf of a large extension of the facilities for divorce. The Catholic Unionists see clearly, and are striving to make their fellow-unionists see also, that to use the name and organization of the Trades Unionists on behalf of measures like these is virtually to claim the exclusion from employment in their respective trades of all who, like themselves, are opposed to these secularist schemes for the destruction of religion. At the Congress this section also passed a very sound resolution on the proposal to nationalize the means of production.

What is so distinctive of meetings of the Catholic Guardians is that those who take part in the discussions are the very persons who are engaged in administering the Poor Law, and speak out of the depths of an intimate experience of the facts. This year the discussion was on the Leakage of the Children caused by the adverse conditions of their bringing up, and of their first experience of life, after emancipation from home and school discipline. Three other Societies co-operated, the Catholic Emigration Association, the Catholic Society for the care of Crippled Children, and the International Catholic Association for the Protection of Young Girls. The Bishop of Northampton contributed a paper which, in his absence through illness, was read by the Bishop of Leeds. It was on bad homes as the main cause of leakage. Speaking generally the children of good parents gave little or no trouble to their priests or teachers; it was they who set the tone to the other children and later formed the bulk of our Church guilds and societies. The difficulty came from the children of bad, usually drunken parents. It was they who were the hooligans of the schools, and after leaving school drifted away to become the hooligans of the streets. Whilst then all our other endeavours thus to cope with the evil of leakage are most necessary, we must not forget that this is the underlying cause, and that our endeavours must not be relaxed to sanctify the home. In this connection, the Bishop of Leeds called attention to the Archconfraternity of Christian Mothers which has done so much good in France in training the Christian mother since its institution in 1846, but which has never had the opportunity of taking root in England, though established at Bayswater as far back as 1867. The Bishop of Leeds prom-

ised to make it known in his own diocese. A discussion ensued on the value of emigration to Canada as offering a good outlook for young people leaving Catholic institutions or otherwise desiring to make a start in life in that colony. Miss Saunders, representing the Catholic Women's League, and others, explained the careful methods under which such emigration can now be carried out with Government assistance and without danger to faith for those who make application to the Catholic Emigration Societies. Incidentally it was mentioned that some three to four hundred Catholic emigrants are sent out to Canada each year, and there carefully watched over, some ninety-eight per cent. turning out well. For the younger children the old question was discussed as to the respective merits of Catholic Institutions and Scattered Homes, for the bringing up the Catholic children under State guardianship. Some Boards of Guardians prefer the latter as furnishing more natural conditions. Scattered Homes must indeed be carefully distinguished from Cottage Homes, the latter being, in the language of the Department, groups of cottages where the foster-mothers may not even be Catholics, the former being homes apart, each belonging to some woman who must be of the religion of the child, and is chosen to bring it up as if it were her own. The Cottage Homes can never be acceptable for Catholic children and fortunately the law prescribes that Catholic children shall be placed under Catholic foster-mothers. The difficulty of Scattered Homes is that it is not easy to find foster-mothers who combine in themselves the requisites for their office, that is, both maternal affection and that skill in the difficult art of training the young which to real mothers comes in normal cases by instinct. On the other hand in institutions managed as ours are wont to be by nuns, the children have the advantage of being brought up by those who bring to their task unusual devotedness, and a skill born of long and intimate experience. The feeling of the meeting was in favour of the institutions and a resolution to this effect was carried.

We have still to refer to the sermons preached at Mass and Vespers on the Sunday. Both were well worthy of the occasion and added to the impressiveness of the Congress. In the morning the Bishop of Clifton set forth the Church Catholic as the Temple of Truth, the Palace of Beauty, and the Home of Order, and exhorted his hearers to cherish their possession in it.

In this Congress . . . gathering as we do [he said] with him whose robes mark him as the representative of Peter's successor, and with him who holds Christ's own sway in this diocese, what better can we do than implore Him whom we are about to offer, Who is Himself truth incarnate, beauty incarnate, and from Whose everlasting mind all order descends, that He will vouchsafe to open our eyes and hearts that we may discern, and appraise at its right value that goodly inheritance He has bequeathed to us—a refulgence from His own beauty, and a participation in that unity with which He Himself is one with the Father.

In the evening, following the precedent set at Norwich, Abbot Gasquet reminded the men of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall of the courageous affection with which their forefathers of the sixteenth century had clung to the old faith that had been theirs for centuries and still lives to be theirs again, of the resistance even to blood they offered to those who sought to wrest it from them by violence, and of the many memories it had left behind enshrined in the history of persons and places dear to Western hearts.

No portion of England was so staunch to the Faith as were Devon and Cornwall. In the summer of 1549, the people of these western parts rose practically *en masse* in defence of their ancient faith. To the number of at least 10,000 they issued a solemn protest against these changes of religion. They were led by Humphrey Arundel and other gentry, and their demands were directed against the religious innovations, which the King's advisers, Somerset and Cranmer, were imposing on their consciences. These true men of Devon and Cornwall would have none of these proposed changes. "We will have," they declared, "the Holy Mass in Latin, as it has always been said in our churches, and none of this new-fangled service in English—that is the Communion Service of the First Book of Common Prayer—which seems to us like a Christmas game. We will have the Blessed Sacrament reserved in our churches as before, and worshipped as it was wont to be. We will have holy bread and holy water, with palms and ashes and all ceremonies as hitherto used by our Mother the Church." There were other demands as to the retention of Catholic practices and Catholic teaching, but the main point of their demands was in regard to the Mass and the Blessed Sacrament. Of this there can be no doubt.

But resistance was in vain when against these simple countrymen were sent the King's trained mercenaries from

Germany and Italy. Many were killed in the field, and many prisoners were reserved for a worse fate.

Humphrey Arundel and other leaders were sent to London and there executed, whilst a brutal massacre of prisoners took place at Woodbury, some eight miles from Exeter. This was followed, as Hooker, an eye-witness, says, by "the putting of the whole country to the spoil, where every soldier sought for his profit." It was thus in this month of July, 1549, as one incident in the brutal acts of reprisal and vengeance upon the Catholics of Devon and Cornwall, for their attempted vindication of the rights of conscience, that the vicar of St. Thomas, near Exeter, was hanged from the steeple of his own church, clad—as if, in derision of his sacred priesthood—in his sacerdotal vestments. . . .

You people of these western parts may well be proud of the way the men of Devon and Cornwall strove to resist innovations and to maintain the old religion of their Catholic forefathers. Above everything else they clung to the Holy Mass, and practically laid down their lives to maintain it for themselves and their children.

These notes on the proceedings of the Congress, inadequate as limits of space compel them to be, suffice to show what a powerful instrument for progress the Annual Congresses are capable of becoming, indeed have already become. Our needs are many, and the more we look around the more they multiply. But it is as wonderful as it is consoling to find how many devoted and experienced workers we have amongst us, and how they too are steadily multiplying. All this is made visible as a whole at time of Congress, and the workers from various parts, becoming intimate with one another personally, and exchanging ideas and experiences, go back stimulated to persevere and progress in their respective tasks, conscious that they have at their back the whole-hearted sympathy and support of their Catholic rulers and brethren throughout the country; whilst each year others are brought under the inspiring influence, and are led to see things that they too can do, to complete the golden chain of mutual help which, before we can rest satisfied, must embrace all neighbourhoods and all the varieties of our Catholic brethren.

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The Cardiff Congress.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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THE GREAT VICTORY

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The Cardiff Congress.

THE position of our annual Congresses may now be considered to be assured. Experience has proved that there are many centres throughout the kingdom at which the needful attendance to create enthusiasm and conduct useful discussions can be confidently presumed; it has shown also how valuable is the habit of thus uniting annually so large a body of workers in various departments, as an aid towards sustaining and extending the course of Catholic progress. Moreover, the experience of the four previous Congresses has sufficed, if not to solve all the problems incident to the simultaneous holding of the meetings of so many societies within the limits of two working days, at all events to fix the main outlines of a satisfactory procedure. The Cardiff Congress, held last month, was able to avail itself of this goodly inheritance of acquired experience, and also to illustrate in a very striking degree the further truth of which the previous Congresses have given evidence, that each locality has it in its power to contribute some special features of its own towards the regeneration and development of the Catholic life of the country.

Of these distinctive features of the Cardiff Congress, the chief was that it could assume, and that on so magnificent a scale, the character of a national Eucharistic Congress. Many references had been made previously to this expected feature in the coming Congress, but we must be content to adduce the few words in which the Cardinal Archbishop drew attention to its significance at the end of the general meeting on the Saturday afternoon:

When [he said] it was suggested that the congress should be held in Cardiff, and it was realised that there they possessed the privilege of being able to carry the Host without let or hindrance, it was felt that such an opportunity of having a national Eucharistic Congress should not be allowed to pass away. It was a wish expressed over and over again that in addition to the International Eucharistic Congress there ought to

Congress Guide Book from the Cardiff Custom House Report for October, 1745, thanks God that "we have not one gentleman in this country of any figure or fortune that is a Papist or a Nonjuror, and we are told that there are very few of the meaner sort." The quotation furnishes a helpful term of comparison. What would have been this critic's feelings could he have witnessed the event of that Congress Sunday? Contingents came to take part in it not from Cardiff only but from many neighbouring and even distant towns and villages, from Bristol and Newport to the East, from Barry, Porthcawl, and even Swansea to the West, from Merthyr, Dowlais, Aberdare, Pontypool, and congregations in the Rhondda valley to the North, all one in faith and fervent in devotion. The concourse of people thus brought together as processionists and spectators was enormous and impressive. Their numbers were, of course, variously estimated, and even the children were judged by some of the local clergy to number five thousand. These latter were naturally, except for the prelates, the most attractive feature in the gathering, tastefully dressed as they were in their white tunics and frocks, with scarves and sashes of colours carefully chosen with a view to the general effect and to mark their respective parishes. But it was by no means a children's procession only: and the compact body of men, who were literally in their thousands, was most consoling to observe. The different sections converging from their several starting points fused together, according to a pre-arranged plan, and walked first with their bands and their banners through the streets of the town, amidst admiring crowds, passing at length through the Canton Gate, into the beautiful Castle grounds; seen from the terrace of which they appeared to form a never-ending succession as they filed past the stately trees to their assigned places in the immense lawn across which the Blessed Sacrament was to pass to the temporary altar. The Blessed Sacrament was carried by the Bishop of Menevia, as representing Wales, the Marquis of Bute and three of his house party carrying the canopy, and a body of some thirty gentlemen forming a guard of honour. The two Cardinals walked immediately behind in *cappa magna*, followed by some ten Archbishops and Bishops, while the canons and clergy from various dioceses, with a long file of laymen and boys in cassock and cotta, walked in front. One must needs describe thus the outward aspects of the ceremony, but for the Catholics who took part

in it these externals were precious in so far as they implied and expressed the deep mystery known only to faith, but known so surely to that, that Jesus Christ, in the Sacrament of His love, was really and truly walking in their midst, as He walked of old among the multitudes of Galilee. It was towards Him that their hearts were turned, it was gratitude for the great gift of His presence which prompted their rejoicings. It was their sense of union with Him which such a procession so strongly stimulated, which stimulated in its turn their sense of union with one another as members of this one family, and so illustrated that power of the Holy Eucharist to cement Catholic unity of which the Bishop of Newport had spoken so inspiringly.

The Eucharistic feature in the Cardiff Congress stands apart, surpassing all else among its events. After this, as the distinguishing feature this year should perhaps be reckoned the work done for advancing the cause of Foreign Missions. The Cardinal took it for the subject of the first half of his Congress address:

A very striking feature of recent years, said his Eminence, has been the extraordinary growth of interest in the work of spreading the knowledge of Christianity among the races which so far remain unaffected by its influence. Not among Catholics alone, but in every direction where the teaching of the Gospel is still accepted, even in fragmentary form, men have a renewed consciousness that there is a duty upon them to bring to the non-Christian nations the message which they have themselves received. . . . There is, therefore, a special reason and opportuneness in proposing as an urgent matter for the consideration of our English National Congress the subject of foreign missions, their immense importance at the present day, and the very special claim which they have upon the most serious attention of all those who are at the same time members of the Catholic Church and subjects of the British Empire. . . . No power on earth touches so many varied races as that which is symbolised by the British flag; there is no language more widely used in far-off regions than our English speech. The extent of empire and of this common tongue gives a power to spread the knowledge of Christianity that has never been surpassed, and to which there is no parallel since the early Christian days in the closing Roman Empire. Such power means at the same time surpassing and unparalleled responsibility. The thought, indeed, will arise in many minds: How can we, the Catholics of England, a very small minority, be responsible for so vast a work as the preaching of the Gospel to the millions to which it is

district in 1886 its population, made up of the older inhabitants of India who had been driven there by the Aryan invaders, were in a miserable state of ignorance and poverty, and the easy victims of the usurers who oppressed them. Father Lievens taught them how to make use of the existing laws in their self-defence, and became their advocate. Thus delivered, they turned to him as their father, and were most ready to listen to his teaching. So was the way prepared for their conversion, and by now Father Hoffmann, sent to fill his place when he died a few years ago worn out by his labours, ministers to "a flourishing mission of 180,000 Catholics, with schools and magnificent churches, all done by money running into hundreds and thousands, and precious lives given without counting the cost." Father Hoffmann has also established a Catholic Co-operative Credit Society and Bank, and a Co-operative Stores Society, to enable the natives to keep out of the clutches of the money-lender, and to practise thrift.

Father C. Cary-Elwes, S.J., gave an account of the mission he has established to the south of British Guiana, on the banks of the Takutu river, a tributary of the Amazon. His endeavour is to follow the plan of the old Paraguay Reductions, and he explained his hopes and his difficulties. He has so far, after a few years' residence on the Mission, been able to baptize twelve hundred natives. The Very Rev. Edmund Dunn, the Prefect Apostolic of Borneo, took the audience to another part of the world, and told the story of the hardships experienced and work done by the Fathers of St. Joseph, Mill Hill, in the portion of Borneo, nearly twice the size of England, which is under British influence. He has forty-six European priests and nuns, mostly Tyrolese and Dutch, under his jurisdiction, together with nineteen preachers and catechists, to manage the schools and take the pastoral charge of the people. The funds, too, except for the small aids sent to the Fathers by their personal friends and relatives in Europe, seem to fall short of £1,000 a year. They have done what they could with these scanty means in establishing stations in the coast towns and among some of the principal towns lying further inward. Yet "a tribe of nineteen thousand souls, not far from the coast, have for six years been asking for priests," that are not there to send. It is a touching story of devotedness on the part of the missionaries and readiness to hear on the part of the natives, but all so distressingly limited by want of the essential resources. A touching story,

and all the more pathetic when we reflect on the enormous sums generously contributed by England and the United States for the support of a class of missions which, as the word Kikuyu bears witness, are wasted on the dissemination of a fragmentary religion involved in hopeless divisions, that has no attraction for the native mind, and only makes its assimilation of Christianity vastly more difficult. We have no wish to blame these Protestant contributors whose zeal must command our sympathy, but one cannot but feel the pity of it all. If the light of Heaven could but dispel their prejudices and lead on to a reunion on sound principles, how much more possible, how thoroughly practicable, would the extension of the Kingdom of Christ throughout the pagan lands become! Still even as it is we must not despair. As the Cardinal Archbishop has reminded us the problem of converting the pagans which faces us in these days is less appalling than the problem of converting the world must have seemed to the Apostles when they went forth from their retirement on the Day of Pentecost. After all, if there is much to do, not a little has been done and is being done, as the papers read show us. If our missionary funds are small the promise of increase, if at present comparable to the small cloud of the size of a man's hand, may be as the cloud was, the earnest of a rich outpouring to come, for even in England Catholic hearts are not ungenerous. And, if the vocations from ourselves fall sadly below the measure attained by our Catholic neighbours on the Continent, they are not altogether insignificant. Mill Hill is our Missionary College for one section of the clergy, and we must wish it success and trust that there may be, what at present there does not appear to be, a goodly accession of English vocations to join the generous foreigners who are rendering the English Society of Foreign Missions so precious a service. But there are other Societies also which send out their members on the mission, and they must all be counted in if we are to take count of the British workers in those fields. Thus the English Province of the Society of Jesus (to leave out the scholastics still undergoing their training) out of 401 priests and 123 lay-brothers has in its missions in South Africa and British Guiana seventy-one priests and thirty-five lay-brothers. Not all these, indeed, are of British birth, but about half of them, and the rest are quite sufficiently naturalized to take an equal part in the work demanded of them. These are members of

of the Bishop of Northampton, Miss Ida Molesworth, Miss Ethel St. Barbe (the Secretary of the Guild), and Father Carolan, S.J., gave particulars of the year's work in this country, and Mr. Charles Cameron of its recent extension to Canada, which has been brought about mainly through his efforts when recently on tour in those parts. It is most desirable that Catholics throughout the country, priests and nuns especially, should form right views as to this group of our fellow-Catholics, and what they can do for them. There is a prejudice against those of their profession which still prevails widely, and is based no doubt on the evils which have attended stage-life at certain times and places. But the drama (to use the word in its most general sense) is perfectly lawful in itself, indeed, in some sense, may be regarded as, in post-Christian times, the creation of the Church; whilst the Catholic Stage Guild, by the fact of its formation, bears witness to the desire of the Catholic artistes of this country to be faithful to the teaching and practical ideal of Catholicism. Father Carolan told of one member of a theatrical company on tour, who, having arrived in a town with the rest, in the early hours of a Sunday morning, walked the streets for an hour to find a Catholic church, that she might not miss her Mass and Communion, and, at last having found one the doors of which would not open till seven o'clock, sat down on the doorstep, and patiently waited till the Mass begun. This is by no means a solitary case, indeed it may be said to express the spirit which animates the members of this Guild. Surely such Catholics deserve, when they come into our towns to afford us amusement, not the cold shoulder which they sometimes receive, but warm sympathy, especially from the priests and the nuns, together with any of the laity who are in a position to offer them a few social amenities, to cheer their lonely lives. More than this they hardly ask for at present, but, if one may speculate on the possibilities of the future, and remember that there are in the same profession other good religious-minded people besides Catholics—there is, for instance, an Anglican "Actors' Union"—our Stage Guild, if taken up cordially by zealous Catholics, may play an influential part in that future elevation of the tone of the English Stage which we must all desire.

As the Congress was held in the principal city of Wales it was fitting that some consideration should be given to the ancient religious beliefs of the Welsh people and their in-

intimate association with the Catholic Church. This subject was entrusted to Dr. Paul Hook, of Holywell, and Mr. de Hirsch Davies. Both read instructive papers, but the latter as that of a recent convert of Welsh birth, whose intimate acquaintance with Welsh literature was well understood, excited a very special interest. This paper is sure to be published, and its wealth of apt quotation should cause it to be instrumental in bringing home to the Welsh people how thoroughly Catholic in every way and how instinct with love and veneration for the Mass, for the Blessed Mother of God, for the Pope, for the priesthood and the Catholic Sacraments was the bardic literature from the eleventh to the seventeenth century. Other papers of interest which we must pass over with a single mention were Mrs. Wilfrid Ward's on the *Knowledge and Reticence* to be observed in the instruction of the young, and Mrs. James Hope's on *The Catholic Emigration Association*—papers read at the combined meeting of the Catholic Women's League and the Catholic Reading Guild; Mr. T. G. King's paper, remarkable for its intimate acquaintance with detail, read before the Catholic Guardians' Society; Father H. Thurston's paper on *The Ritual of Holy Communion*, read at one of the afternoon General Meetings; and Mr. Lister Drummond's address on *The Sinking of Party Differences*, delivered before the Catholic Confederation meeting. The Catholic Trades Union Guild and the Catholic Insurance Society also held good meetings and discussed their special problems.

The Catholic Social Guild was much in evidence at the Congress and had two well-attended meetings, over one of which the Archbishop of Liverpool presided, the other being visited and addressed by Cardinal Gasquet and Bishop McIntyre. We must refer our readers to the more complete reports which have already appeared or will appear in the Catholic papers, but the proceedings on the Monday morning, so far as they bore on the attitude of the Guild to Socialism, are most important. Mgr. Parkinson took occasion to recall the circumstances under which this Guild took concrete form five years ago. There is general agreement that the condition under which the poor, at all events large masses of the poor, live is intolerable. "There can be no question whatever," says Leo XIII. in his famous Encyclical *Rerum novarum*, "that some remedy must be found, and found quickly, for the misery and wretchedness pressing so heavily

and unjustly at this moment on the vast majority of the working classes." Leo XIII. has also, in that Encyclical, laid down the principles on which the remedial measures should be based. Promptly were these intimations from the Apostolic See taken up in France, Belgium, and Germany, whilst the same problems are being dealt with, not always on sound lines, in this country. Hence the feeling of the few priests and laymen who founded the Catholic Social Guild at Oscott in November 1909. Social reform, like religion, is a subject concerning which people are apt to imagine they can express opinions and act upon them, without having taken the precaution to prepare themselves by adequate study of the manifold factors involved. The Catholic Social Guild, on the other hand, has felt from the first that the application of Leo XIII.'s principles under the conditions of time and place involve many complex problems which need careful and scientific study. Hence the distinctive form of action adopted by the Guild is that of establishing Study Clubs in as many centres as possible, so organized for this purpose that they may be advised what questions, of detail as well as principle, in what books, and under what recommendation and precaution, to make the instruments of their united study; and also to publish literature informative on these matters. Mgr. Parkinson rightly laid stress at the meeting on this feature of Study as distinctive of the Guild. It meant that the members, though agreed on certain points, differed or had not made up their minds on others which seemed to them to be as yet insufficiently investigated. Having claimed that their endeavour had been throughout to take as "the unchangeable groundwork the Papal utterances on the subjects of our studies, and the subsequent authoritative letters of guidance which had proceeded from the Holy See"; and that "not a line or phrase of what they have published had been censured by authority," Mgr. Parkinson gave as instances of matters as to which they were agreed:

The need of a social change, the inviolability of private ownership both in goods and land, the demand of a living wage, the support of the trade union principle, the necessity of factory legislation, the raising of the status of the working class, the claims of small holders, peasant proprietors and agricultural labourers, the need of better housing in town and country, the abuses of the capitalist system, the evils incident to the possession of extremely large estates (*latifundia*)—in all which matters they

had followed the letter and the spirit of Papal documents, or the example of the Roman Pontiffs themselves.

And as "subjects of outstanding importance, difficulty and controversy" on which they had not spoken or had spoken only in a "tentative and uncertain phraseology," as feeling the need of further study or the guidance of authority,

the super-tax, the income tax, the death duties, the single tax, the tax on undeveloped land, land valuation, compulsory sale, ground rents, unearned increment, rate of interest.

On one point, protested Mgr. Parkinson, the attitude of the Guild has been "definite and decided." Many things in Socialism are the common property of mankind and are not distinctively Socialism.

But among the ever-changing aspects which the description of Socialism assumes amongst its adherents, certain features stand out in unmistakable clearness as essential characters under a Protean form.

1. Socialism claims to be either independent of religion, or else its own religion.

2. It looks for the gradual expropriation of practically all the privately owned means of production, with or without compensation.

3. Collectivism means the regulation of the entire social fabric by Parliamentary action.

4. Syndicalism means the control of industry and of the entire social body by the industrial workers.

5. Guild Socialism declares the immorality of wages, as such.

6. Agrarian Socialism stands for the abolition of rent, and for compulsory expropriation of landowners by taxation, sale or otherwise.

To each and all of these systems or doctrines, as understood by their respective promoters and in the common and obvious meaning of the terms employed, the C.S.G. has always been solidly and on Catholic principles in total and unqualified opposition.

This declaration, it seems to us, should clear the air. It would be unfair to hold the Guild responsible, as it were with the responsibility of an *ex cathedra* decision, for every opinion broached by any one of its writers. In a Study Guild like this some latitude of individual, and perhaps transitory, opinion

must be permitted, but the general aims of the Guild as above expounded in the name of those who form it, are in obvious accordance with "the letter and spirit of the Papal documents," and are in formal opposition to the peccant matter of Socialism. There is one element, however, we must all hope to see more fully represented in the Social Guild as its true objects become better known. The clergy stand in the middle, with a singular power of bringing together the two classes, the employers and the employed, in all the different varieties of employment. But it is this meeting together of the two classes in associations formed to study the exigencies of their mutual relations which is so important. If isolated from each other it is hard for them not to fall into disastrous animosities. If they meet together on the basis of their common faith, and of such authoritative declaration of principles as those furnished by the *Rerum novarum*, they quickly come to understand one another and to find solutions acceptable to both sides.

With these comments on a few of the many meetings held at Cardiff we must conclude our notice of this Fifth Annual Catholic Congress. In doing so, however, we cannot but acknowledge the extremely cordial way in which the precedent set by the former Congresses was followed up by the Lord Mayor of Cardiff. The notion that our Congresses are animated by a hostile spirit to those of other religions scarcely survives after the experience of so many previous gatherings, and these successive welcomes from the Civil Magistrates have helped materially towards destroying its vitality. Our indebtedness to the kindness of Lord and Lady Bute, who did so much to make the Congress the success it was, has been voiced, as we were all glad to hear, by the highest authority in the Church.

THE FULHAM PAGEANT.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Fulham Pageant.

AN ardent desire for reunion is stirring many devout hearts just now, and, though it is difficult to see how it can become practical under existing conditions, we can at least strive to promote the spirit which urges towards it rather than the spirit which tends to harden and multiply divisions. We can abstain from irritating criticism of one another's doings ; we can rejoice together in every belief and aspiration that we hold in common ; we can express appreciation and sympathy where it is possible ; and, if at any time it appears necessary to emphasize our differences, we can at least strive to be fair and accurate in our arguments, and kindly and considerate in our language. It is, we venture to suggest, in this spirit that it best becomes us to make our comment on the recent Church Pageant which has aroused so much enthusiasm among our Anglican friends. Nor is it difficult to take this course, for there are many aspects under which their Pageant is worthy of all praise. As a simple matter of spectacular conception and display its success is universally acknowledged and does great credit to its organizers and to the actors who took part in it. The Fulham Palace grounds were admirably adapted to the purpose, and full advantage was taken of their capabilities. A vast open lawn of some nine acres in area, enclosed by splendid elms, had been encircled by an embattled wall broken by four or more tasteful gateways successfully simulating reality. Through these approaches and on its extended area ample opportunity was afforded for the entrance of the different groups and their manifold evolutions. The scenes were finely conceived and had each its own individuality, some of them being most impressive for their human interest, whilst all were in varying degrees pleasing to look upon, and some were real feasts of beauty for the eye. The behaviour of the crowds must have been the most difficult thing to teach, but it was taught so well that for its perfect

mingling of spontaneity with careful design it was perhaps the best feature of all. A tribute of praise is also due to the clear and distinct tones by which those who had words to speak made themselves well heard to the vast audience. The choir, which was attractively dressed in an old-world attire of green and red, did its part well and aided considerably towards conjuring up the spirit of the past. In the earliest performances there appears to have been some not unintelligible delay between the scenes, but practice soon remedied this rather tiresome defect, and then the succession, without being hurried, became as prompt and easy as could be wished. Of the particular scenes, regarded from the point of view of spectacular impressiveness, we should give the palm to the meeting of St. Augustine and King Ethelbert, to the Miracle Play, to the Funeral of Henry V., to the Expulsion of the Nuns from their convent, to the Coronation of Edward VI., and to the Finale—which last, with its gathering of all who had taken part in the previous scenes, to the number of some two thousand, all carrying lighted torches, would have been hard to beat for its beauty and splendour.

The Coronation of William the Conqueror was distinctly poor. The intended interest was manifestly in the opportunity it offered of representing the ceremonies of such a function, but the distance from the audience was too great to permit of their attending much to these *minutiae*. The Foundation of King's College, Cambridge, was chosen, we presume, for the sake of representing another class of ceremonial, but it could not claim to be on the main route of the events which have determined English Church History. On the other hand, some such event as the laying of the foundation stone of Westminster Abbey, would have been very appropriate in the First Part of the Pageant; indeed, more than merely appropriate, for it would have introduced England's Royal Saint, whose "good laws" were so cherished throughout the mediæval period. Of course, it was necessary to limit the number of scenes, but the Magna Charta scene might easily have been dispensed with, belonging, as it does, to secular rather than to ecclesiastical history. Some of the scenes suffered from the want of words put into the mouths of the principal characters. This was noticeably the case in the Return of St. Thomas à Beckett, and in the Trial of Wickliffe, where the omission left the scenes without distinctive character. In the St. Augustine Scene it

would have been better to excise the interpreter—an excision which dramatic license could have been invoked to condone—for the effect of his intervention was to keep St. Augustine from impressing his personality on the occasion. There were some distinguished antiquarians among the managers of the Pageant, and their reputation is a guarantee to us that the dresses were in accordance with the pictures of the periods. Still, in the ecclesiastical dresses, one could not but notice some faults which a little inquiry would have prevented, though in this respect the Pageant itself was an improvement on the *Pageant Handbook*. Thus the Cistercian nuns in Scene iv., who in the *Handbook* are all in black like Benedictines, in the Pageant itself had white habits, which was right, but white veils and white scapulars instead of black, which was wrong. The Benedictines who came with St. Augustine were in true Benedictine dress (though in the *Handbook* they are not), but St. Augustine himself was strangely clad in a fancy white habit or cassock, under a russet cope or cowl. Then, too, it was quaint to see Bishops walking with croziers in their right hands, or priests and Bishops wearing maniples, or Archbishops palliums, when they were obviously not taking part in the Mass. There were other fancy religious dresses in which clergy and monks figured in the processions, but these may be excused, for in a pageant the blending of colours must be studied, and the figures must be supplied with some kind and colour of dress, whilst in the absence of certain knowledge the designers are driven to exercise their imagination. A spectacular defect of a little more importance was in the scant attendance accorded to the great personages of Church and State when they were, nevertheless, in full ceremonial dress. Cardinal Beaufort, though not only a Cardinal but also of the blood-royal, came walking by himself without any one to support him in the King's College scene, and was otherwise ignored throughout its course. In the same way, St. Dunstan had no marked position assigned him, and seemed just to step out of the crowd when he was wanted to pronounce upon the question of the married Canons; similarly King John was unattended, and the Papal "legate," when they came in procession to Runnymede. Still, though we note these oversights, we do not lay stress on any of them. The chief thing was to catch and fix the spirit of the original, and this, so far as was possible within their limitations, the projectors were wonderfully successful in doing.

The Pageant was confessedly undertaken in the hope that it might serve to propagate and confirm the Continuity theory, the theory, that is to say, of a continuity of essential principles between the modern Church which claims to be the "Church of England" and the ancient Church to which no one disputes the right to this designation. Is this a reason why Catholics should resent the celebration and endeavour to write it down? We cannot see that it is. We are not disputing that this claim to continuity is unfounded and inadmissible, but after all it arises out of a feeling of attraction for that old English Church infinitely preferable to the feeling of repulsion with which it was regarded as late as half-a-century ago. Let any one think of the form which such a pageant would have taken, if it had been possible at all, in the middle of the last century. There were even then some High Churchmen to be found here and there in the country, but they were few and far between, nor could their influence have told in determining what should be the complexion of the scenes to be exhibited. Those who did possess authority and influence would have delighted to represent the entire period, or almost the entire period, separating Augustine from Cranmer, as a time in which empty formalism had taken the place of interior piety, abominable idolatry had ousted the worship of the true God, and immorality and imposture had well-nigh destroyed the religious instincts of the people; and would have laid the greatest stress on the Reformation period as a time of deliverance, when the people rejoiced to have the burden of the Papacy taken off their shoulders, and flew with alacrity into the arms of the new preachers. Now all is changed, and in the degree of the change we have a measure of the distance which multitudes of English minds have travelled, away from Protestantism and towards Catholicism, during the period of this eventful half-century. The present Pageant was ushered in with the cordial approval, and even under the zealous direction, of leading Anglican prelates, and was welcomed, precisely in its more Catholic features, day after day, by devout Anglicans in their thousands. Is not this a thing for us to rejoice over and to sympathize with, not to find fault with?

But to descend more to particulars. With one exception, there was not a scene in the First Part which was not surprisingly Catholic in its spirit and tendency. There were significant omissions, but in what was exhibited there was little

or nothing which we ourselves could have wished to arrange otherwise. Thus the Prelude opened the Pageant by introducing St. George, surrounded by St. Alban, St. Ninian, St. Patrick, St. David, St. Germanus, and St. Ia as the Founder Saints of Christianity of these islands, and putting into their mouths becoming words describing the part they had severally taken in the evangelization of the British as distinguished from the English race. Then came four scenes, of which three—the coming of St. Columba to Iona, the meeting of St. Oswald and St. Aidan at Bamborough, and the meeting of St. Augustine with St. Ethelbert—were historical and of which the last two were indispensable, whilst the remaining one was appropriately included in a representation of the sources of English Christianity. It was not so easy to get a typical scene to represent the previous evangelization of the British races, but it was a happy idea to associate for that purpose the cruciform foundations at Silchester with a formal promulgation of Constantine's Edict of Toleration. By the commencement of the third century the British Church had given to England her first martyr, had acquired sufficient bulk and consistency to develop something of a hierarchy, and had entered into organized relations with the continental Churches. Then also it was at the dawn of a long period, during which it achieved the conversion of the entire race, and gave birth to its great national saints. The reign of toleration, begun under Constantius the father and authoritatively sanctioned in 314 by Constantine the son, opened the road for this work of expansion.

We have said that in the scenes of the First Part there was just one exception in which a note was struck which jarred on Catholic ears. That they should wish to introduce St. Dunstan into the series of representations was intelligible, as it was also that the episode chosen from his life should be one which would typify the great work of his life—the reform of the clergy and the restoration of the religious life. It was right, therefore, that they should choose the scene at Winchester in 964 when the King and Queen went with Dunstan and Bishop Athelwold to the Old Monastery, and gave the married Canons the alternative of either embracing the Benedictine Rule or quitting their comfortable benefices. But Dr. Lingard has remarked how the post-Reformation historians have one after another taken up Archbishop Parker's phrase, and have seen in

the expelled Canons only "clergymen piously living in lawful matrimony."¹ And this is how they were represented in the Pageant. When the scene opened groups of these ecclesiastics appeared taking a quiet stroll accompanied by their wives and children, looking, save for their monastic dress and ultra-monastic tonsure, for all the world like respectable Anglican vicars with their wives. Presently, when the King and Queen have taken their seat, Bishop Athelwold, in the character of a good but stern and heartless prelate, causes some black Benedictine cowls to be thrown down among the Canons, and commands them in the King's name to decide at once whether they will send away their wives and children, and put on these cowls, or go forth from their homes in the monastery. The Canons appeal to the King:

Lord King, we plead our right. . . . True it is
 We live not as the men of former days
 Shut from the world, but mingle with our kind
 Freely, and serve them better, as we think,
 Than if we shunned them . . .
 And thus in peace and freedom would we live.

Then the Queen intervenes on their side—though there is no documentary proof that she did so.

Look on these men
 Who hitherto have lived their peaceful lives
 In sacred precincts, serving God no less
 Because the joys and cares of other men
 Were also theirs; serving, perchance, the more
 Their neighbour's truest need. And now to-day
 A black gulf yawns before them, and they stand
 Weighing a fearful choice because their life,
 Lawful of late, is now unlawful held,
 And may not brook the love of wife or child
 Or aught that makes for sweetness.

The King is inclined to relent, and even Dunstan, to whom the question is now referred, stands for a while in silent hesitation. Then an old priest comes forward to relate how the previous night he had in a dream seen the Figure on the crucifix leaning forward towards Dunstan and saying, "Just is thy sentence, change not." On this it is felt that there is no escape for the Canons, most of whom refuse to quit their families and depart in tears, whilst two or three reluctantly put on the black cowls, their wives and children still clinging imploringly to their

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 269.

skirts. One little mite of eight or ten creates a sensation. She follows her father whom Dunstan is carrying off. Dunstan strengthens the father, saying, "Leave all for Christ," and repels the child who casts herself in tears upon the ground in her abandonment. Then the Queen comes to the rescue, sending one of her ladies to fetch the child, who is taken into the royal chariot.

Naturally the ladies of the audience, many of whom had probably come from pleasant parsonages, were much moved by the scene and scandalized at the harshness of a religion which could think such cruelties pleasing to God. Still, it should be a comfort for them to know that this whole conception of what was then done at Winchester is unhistorical. To begin with, we may be quite sure that St. Dunstan never suggested that the duty of leaving all for Christ required a father to abandon and leave unprovided a young child whom, rightly or wrongly, he had brought into the world. But, if we are to credit the only extant testimonies we have, these Canons were not such estimable persons, intent only on serving their flocks, and adopting the married life that they might by mingling freely with them serve the more their truest need. To cite only the *Vita Ethelwoldi*, which was probably written by Wolstan, a precentor of Winchester, but was in any case written by one who could say that he was proposing to write down "what he himself being present had seen, or what he had heard from the trustworthy accounts of the older men."

There were then [he says] in the Old Monastery where the Bishop's throne is set, canons who were guilty of grave transgressions (*nefandis scelerum moribus implicati*) proud, insolent, and luxurious in their living, to such a degree that some of them would not condescend to say Mass according to the rule of their order, repudiated the wives whom they had unlawfully married, and took others, besides were given to greediness and drunkenness.

Also the *Winchester Annals* further tell us that

These canons, who were such in name only, had, given up attendance in choir, the toil of vigils, and the ministry of the altar, leaving all this to be discharged by vicars to whom they made the most insufficient allowances, whilst they themselves were often absent from their churches for seven years together, spending the revenues of their prebends where they liked, and how they liked.

And, this notwithstanding, the King—who was reluctant to require the substitution of the stricter Benedictine rule for

that of the Regular Canons, if only he could get that observed—had given them several warnings, but had always been met by pleas for delay, and fair promises which were never kept. This also is recorded by the *Winchester Annals*, whilst William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum*, gives us the further information that Athelwold, even when he turned them out of the Cathedral, and the New Monastery too, set apart some of his own episcopal manors for their support. It may be said that the *Winchester Annals* and the *Gesta Pontificum* were written long after the event, and are not to be trusted. Still, they based their statements on earlier authorities, and, even if we suspect them of giving a colour of their own in their expansions of what they found in their sources, we have no other authorities of any kind on which to base the construction put upon this episode in the Pageant.

If this one scene was made untrue to its age by the modern ideas that were read into it, the defect was fully atoned for by the exquisite Miracle Play scene, in which the religious spirit of the Middle Ages was faithfully rendered. A van, like our gipsy vans, drawn by a pair of black-horned cattle, stopped in front of a Kentish village crowd. It is Christmas time, and the side of the van opening, three figures are disclosed to view. At the spectators' left is St. Joseph, dressed as a friar, in the middle is our Blessed Lady, clothed in a sky-blue cope over a white garment, and with her head crowned. To the right is the angel Gabriel, and at the back is the Holy Child lying on the straw. In quaint mediæval verse, the angel announces the birth of the Child, three shepherds and their boy Trowle, greet the Child and His Mother and make their modest presents. Then the van moves on, and presently some pilgrims who have joined the crowd kneel down to pray at a wayside shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Then some children run in, and forming circles dance a graceful morris-dance. Some young girls catch the spirit, and start similar dances of their own. It was an appropriate picture of the happy blending of religion with innocent amusement which won for our country in those days the name of Merry England.

The Second-Part of the Pageant was presumably intended to trace downwards from their first origins the changes of spirit and doctrine which have led up to the present status of the Anglican Church. Here, therefore, one might have expected

to find the sentiment of the scenes taking more and more a Protestant tone. On the contrary, what was remarkable was that there was so little of this antagonistic tone. The first scene in this Part gave the trial of Wycliffe before the Bishops at St. Paul's in January, 1377. It was strictly historical, being conformed to the text of a transcript of the *Chronicon Angliae*, but the effect of this was that Wycliffe himself appeared as a mere lay-figure, whilst his patrons, John of Gaunt and Sir Henry Percy, turned the trial into a brawl, by insisting that Wycliffe should sit down during its course, and threatening to pull down Courtenay, Bishop of London, from his throne. The sympathy of the bystanders was with their Bishop, in defence of whom they rushed upon his assailants and hustled them out of the cathedral. Thus the effect of the scene was to exhibit the "Harbinger of the Reformation" as an agitator favoured only by the party of disorder.

The scene which next followed was the Funeral Procession of Henry. We have already referred to it as a triumph of spectacular skill and historical correctness, but viewed from the standpoint of its religious tendency it is enough to say that it was simply a specimen of Catholic ceremonial designed by an accomplished antiquarian, in exact accordance with an official account in the College of Arms. The Founding of King's College Chapel was also apparently selected solely for the scope it gave to illustrate the rites and ceremonies which our ancestors observed, rites and ceremonies of exactly the same kind as in these days are in ordinary use among ourselves, but can only be yearned for by our Anglican brethren. One further comment, however, which applies perhaps to some of the other scenes, applied particularly to this. It grated somewhat on one's ears to hear the very words of the Church's prayers said or intoned whilst the laying of the foundation stone was represented. True, that, or what is equivalent, is done by ourselves in a Passion Play, but there it is because our Lord is ever-living, and so the act is real. It is different when the act done is merely an imitation of the reality.

How, one might have asked a month or two ago, would a Church which, if it did not spring from the Reformation, was modified by it in the most essential features of its structure, treat the Reformation in this Pageant? It is not excessive to say that the Reformation period was simply suppressed. One would have anticipated that in an historical representation of

the Anglican Church Henry VIII., Anne Boleyn, Cromwell, Cranmer, Somerset, and again Elizabeth, Cecil, Walsingham, would have figured largely, as also in another sense would Mary Tudor, Pole, Gardiner, and Bonner. But they simply did not figure in it at all. We do not blame the projectors for the omission, on the contrary we find it most consoling, for it is another and a very significant testimony to the advance of modern Anglicanism towards Catholicism. They felt that the Reformation was a thing to be ashamed of, not to rejoice over, and so they passed it over as lightly as possible. Three scenes, indeed, which belong to this period they did give, but in such a way as could accord with such a feeling. The reign of Henry VIII. was represented by an episode in the Suppression of the Monasteries. A crowd of local inhabitants has gathered in front of the gates of a Cistercian Nunnery. They are awaiting the advent of the King's Commissioners sent to despoil the abbey and to eject its inmates. The Mother Abbess comes forth and addresses them.

Here is come but now
 The instant summons of our Lord the King,
 And we must yield all into his hands,
 Our house and all our goods and be cast forth
 Homeless, dependent only on his grace
 For food and shelter. Surely for our sins
 Is this thing come upon us: sins of sloth,
 Sins bred of ease, perchance, and careless life,
 Though never those that we are charged withal;
 And we must bear it with what strength we may.
 Enough of us; rather for you I grieve,
 Neighbours and friends of old, whose fathers' fathers
 Found ever peace and comfort in these walls,
 The daily dole, the help in time of need
 Refuge from care and sickness, age, and want.

Then they go forth in sad procession, singing slowly the *Miserere*, whilst the crowd burst forth into lamentations, which profoundly touch the audience. On one occasion, we have been told, a hiss at the commissioners started by the by-standers was cordially taken up by the audience, who thus showed where their sympathies lay; nor could it be said in this case, as in that of the married canons, that the Pageant representation was unsupported by the historical evidence. This scene ended with the arrival of the Pilgrims of Grace, and so afforded the audience an opportunity of learning the true nature of what used to be set down in English histories as a pure rebellion.

The Coronation of Edward VI. was another harmless piece of Catholic ceremonial, for at that time the Catholic ritual had not yet been mutilated by the Reformers. Latimer's sermon was likewise fairly harmless, though it was rather incongruous to bring it in as a part of the Coronation ceremony, seeing that it was not in fact delivered till two years later, and was in no way suited for an occasion like a Coronation.

Parker's consecration was the one event represented which of its own nature carried the idea of a claim to continue the succession received from the past, but it is to the credit of the projectors that they kept rigidly to the entry in the Lambeth Register (the text of which was given by the *Handbook*), though it involved calling attention to the insufficiency of the form, "Take the holie ghost," &c. The scene was quiet, but was reverently conceived, and made a pleasing picture. The presence of a choir, however, was not supported by the text of the Register, and was out of place. The fact that the ceremony, instead of being accorded the utmost publicity, was held between five and six o'clock in the morning, and was kept secret till long after, shows that there was something about it they wished to conceal, probably the necessity of entrusting the principal part to Barlow, who, whatever else may have to be said about him, does not appear to have been a very reputable character. But in a ceremony of such privacy it is unlikely that they would have had a choir.

The completing of the Authorized Version of the Bible was an achievement of which Anglicans have reason to be proud, and it had an undoubted claim to a place in the Pageant. Still, here once more the spirit of the representation was adverse not to the Catholics but to the Puritans, on whose disputatiousness, and improper notes in their Geneva version, King James exercises his humour, quite in keeping with his known character.

The Execution of Laud was a necessary subject. "There is no history of the Church of England," wrote Mr. Pocock in the first of his remarkable articles,¹ "which gives an adequate idea of the degradation into which religious observances had fallen at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and the consequence is that few people understand the immense debt of gratitude they owe to Archbishop Laud for the recovery from that condition." It cannot, however, be said that the representation was

¹ *Guardian*, November 9, 1892.

satisfactory. The Archbishop's words were too controversial for the occasion, and his manner lacked the dignity and aloofness which befitted one in his position ; whilst the savagery of the Puritan onlookers, who could not suppress their cheers and taunts in the presence of death, destroyed all the solemnity of the scene. It was a portrayal which, whether designed for this or not, tended to identify the Puritan party with bad taste and disorder.

The last subject was really the only one in which Anglicanism and Catholicism were set in distinct opposition. It was the Acquittal of the Seven Bishops charged by James II. with a libel on the Crown for their refusal to read his Declaration of Indulgence. The letter-press of the *Handbook* explains that

the people had come to distrust [the King] for a Papist. . . . Under the plea that his aim was to establish universal liberty of conscience, the King . . . issued his second Declaration of Indulgence suspending the operation of the Penal Laws against Nonconformity and Romanism, with that of all acts imposing religious tests as qualifications for office in Church [?] and State.

That James II. acted with all the tactlessness and stubbornness of the Stuarts is beyond dispute : and his order to the Bishops to read his Declaration in the churches was incredibly harsh and ill-advised. The acts, however, which so stirred up the people and drove the seven Bishops to resist him, were simply measures in favour of religious toleration for all alike, Nonconformists of every kind as well as Catholics ; and measures which fell short of the degree of toleration which is now the statutory right of all in the country. Nor, though his absolutism (in which after all he only resembled his predecessors) was truly objectionable, is there reason to doubt his sincerity on this point of toleration. True, the Protestants of the day suspected him of wishing ultimately to re-establish and enforce Catholicism, and on this plea turned him off the throne. Still, the people who suspected him were the same who had listened so readily to the monstrous perjuries of Oates, and on the faith of them had required that torrents of innocent blood should flow. The Seven Bishops were themselves unquestionably men of high character whose resistance was for motives of conscience. But, this notwithstanding, the event was hardly one which, had they reflected more carefully, the projectors would have selected as tending to the glory of their

Church. Still, as they did include it and gave it the honours of the concluding scene in their series, it is due to them to acknowledge that they kept strictly to the recorded facts. They even gave prominence to the least edifying features in the story. The Kensitites might have found consolation for their wounded feelings here at least, for the crowd awaiting the verdict behaved just like a Kensit crowd, as did also the jury, who came out not like twelve good men and true who had been honestly trying to arrive at an impartial verdict, but like a group of politicians who had done a popular thing and wished to be acclaimed for it.

The Epilogue was intended to exhibit the Anglican Church, as a whole, in its history since 1698 and in its present extension. It consisted of a Procession in which figured groups with banners to represent the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge founded in 1698, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel founded three years later, the Methodist Revival, which in the eighteenth century exercised an important influence on the Anglican Communion (though it ended in a great outdrift from its ranks), the Crusade against Slavery, the Evangelical Revival, the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799, and seven immortal Churchmen, amongst whom the eyes of the audience were especially directed towards Mr. G. K. Chesterton, figuring as Dr. Johnson. Then came representatives of the Anglican Communion of the present day, at home and in the colonies, each set bearing the banner of the See formed in its midst. This was most appropriate, and was truly inspiring, for it is an impressive fact, for us as well as for themselves, that the good men of our race who have devoted their lives to the extension of God's Kingdom, should be so multitudinous and so wide spread. One criticism only will we permit ourselves on this procession, namely, that it would have been better had the persons who composed it been placed further apart, or walked more slowly, so that the audience might have time to appreciate their significance. To the *Finale* as a particularly fine spectacle we have already referred, and that is the only aspect under which it was, or was intended to be remarkable. Its idea was the common one for the end of a pageant, that of bringing together in one *coup d'œil* all who had taken part in its scenes.

We have tried in these observations to do justice to the scenes as represented, and also to express an appreciation

which it has not been difficult to feel. Still, it is impossible to disregard in an estimate of the Pageant the question of the omissions. Correctly or incorrectly, it has been understood that Mr. Lascelles resigned the mastership because he considered that, if an historical Pageant was to be held it should aim at reproducing the past as it was, for better or for worse, in all its essential features. The principle seems sound, for otherwise is not the Pageant made to mislead as to the past instead of teaching what it truly was? Yet, if the principle had been adopted, how explain the entire omission of every event and aspect of events which gave expression to the belief of our ancestors in the Supremacy of the Holy See—for whatever view we may take of continuity they certainly had this belief and rendered a consequent obedience to the Popes. Events which would have served this purpose would have been easy to find—for instance, the words of King Oswy at the Council of Whitby, or of St. Anselm in the presence of William Rufus. Similarly, the principle just enunciated required that the Protestant aspects of Anglican history, during that fearful half-century of crisis under the Tudors, should be duly included.

Still, whilst recognizing the claims of this argument for reproducing the past simply as it was, without omissions, we are inclined to think that on the whole the projectors were well advised in making these omissions on both sides. That a Pageant should in all respects be complete is not after all a supreme requirement, for besides pageants there are other ways of teaching history. It may then be reasonably thought that matters of fierce controversy should as far as possible be excluded, and those only included as to which there is a sufficiently general agreement or at least toleration. Then the pageants themselves can be, as becomes their nature, occasions for pleasurable and peaceful enjoyment, tending to bring people together, not to keep them apart. And, inasmuch as the omission of contentious subjects is sure to direct attention to them, these can be investigated in other ways as far as seems necessary to those who are interested in them.

The Lambeth Encyclical.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Lambeth Encyclical.

THERE was much to attract an unusual degree of attention to the Lambeth Conference of the present year. It is the year of the Diamond Jubilee, when we have all been trying to realize the greatness of the British Empire, and have welcomed every pageant which could set graphically before our eyes its extent and the variety of its life. A gathering of Anglican Bishops was an appropriate accompaniment to the secular celebrations, and it was not unfitting that in order to secure it, the recurrence of the decennial Conference should have been anticipated by one year. Nor can it be denied that the gathering was really impressive. It would be a misconception indeed to suppose that, like the Fathers of the Vatican Council, these Bishops represent a unity of communion binding together nationalities diverse among themselves in speech and character. In spite of the suggestive sound of the titles which some of them bear, they represent the propagation of the race much more than the propagation of the faith. Still, the sight of so large a number formed into one procession and sweeping into Canterbury Cathedral must have been most inspiring, and was calculated to stir deeply the hearts of those who witnessed it. It is not in irony but in sympathy that we say these words, for we desire to sympathize with all that is fair and of good report, wherever it may be found, and we find a great deal of it here. It is surely a thing fair and of good report to all who love our Lord, that in this unbelieving age there should be these one hundred and ninety-four men of talent and earnestness who, in so many regions of the earth, are devoting their lives to His service so far as they understand it, and are superintending a like devotedness on the part of others. It is surely a consoling spectacle to see them assembled together and striving to aid one another to grapple with the complex problems touching the spiritual and temporal welfare of mankind, which the nature of their work has forced upon their

attention. And surely it awakens our sympathy when we read the touching paragraph with which they conclude their encyclical address.

We have throughout our deliberations endeavoured to bear in mind the great work that we are engaged in doing, and the presence with us of the Lord and Master who has given us this work to do. The effort to counsel one another, and to counsel the members of our Church throughout the world, has drawn us consciously nearer to Him whom we have been desiring to serve. We pray earnestly that as He has been with us in our deliberations, so also He may be with us in all our attempts to live and to labour in the same spirit of devotion. We know that we can do nothing without Him, and we pray that that knowledge may perpetually lift our thoughts to His very self, and inspire our work with the zeal and the perseverance, with the humility and the self-surrender which ever characterize His true disciples; so that we all may be able to abide in Him and to obtain His loving promise to abide in us.

And yet the hopelessness of it all! So splendid an array of force, and such impotence in the result!

We are aware that this is the feeling of many Anglicans as well as of ourselves. They had been sorely exercised about some of the problems which the Conference has had to consider—about the attitude of missionaries towards polygamy in intending converts, about the sanction accorded by some of their prelates to the re-marriage of the divorced, about the various aspects of the Reunion movement. It was to the Conference their eyes were turned in the hopes that, now when they had secured so large a representation of their own doctrinal views on the episcopal bench, they might obtain from the wisdom of these collected prelates a declaration of distinct and uncompromising orthodoxy. All through the month of July their hope was sustained, but now the Encyclical is published, and their hope is changed into disappointment. On no one of these subjects is any satisfactory guidance, or indeed any guidance at all, given. All is left indefinite and unsettled. All that issues out of their deliberations is a collection of vague phrases, which every one understands to be but the decent veil cast over a hopeless divergence of aims and objects.

Some few subjects there are, no doubt, on which these prelates are likely to have been in agreement among themselves. On the immense importance of purity, of temperance, of infusing

a Christian spirit into the relations between employer and employed, of the desirability of arbitration rather than of war for the settlement of international disputes—on such matters they were sure to be in agreement, although even here we cannot find in their pronouncements any very valuable guidance. They make no provisions for any practical dealing with the evils: they state certain truisms, and that is all. But it was in view of the points into which doctrinal considerations enter that High Churchmen were looking to the Conference, and it is in regard to these they are experiencing the soreness of disappointment. They wanted a condemnation of divorce *in se* as forbidden by the Divine Law, and they get instead a protest against the too frequent recourse to the Divorce Courts, which of course implies that under certain circumstances divorce is permissible. They wanted an acceptance of the principle of vows and of the Religious life, and they are put off by a declaration that so important a subject requires longer consideration. They wanted to be told how much of what the different schools of Biblical criticism are confidently preaching can be made to consist with continued belief in Biblical inspiration, and they are treated only to a few truisms on the necessity of critical research, and the impropriety of condemning it in itself.

We must, however, pass over these sections of the Encyclical, interesting as they would have been to discuss, and come at once to the section on Church Unity—for it is to this section that the more Catholic-minded Anglicans were chiefly looking, and it is here that they have experienced their chief disappointment.

The prelates are agreed among themselves as to the abstract desirability of a united Christendom, and they “recommend that every opportunity be taken to emphasize the Divine purpose of visible unity amongst Christians as a fact of revelation.” Such a recommendation is in its right place, no doubt, at the beginning of a deliverance on reunion, and its authors will not object to our associating with it, as equally expressive of their mind, the words of their Committee on Church Unity :

We are thankful that the subject of Christian unity is gaining an increasing hold upon the thoughts, and, we believe, upon the prayers, of Christian people. The day is passed in which men could speak of the Church of God as if it were an aggregate of trading establishments, as if our divisions promoted a generous rivalry, and saved us from apathy and indolence. Men of all schools of thought are realizing the

grievous injury which has been done to Christianity by the separations which part holy men and women of various Christian bodies from each other.¹

There is truth in these words, and it is a very welcome truth. When the tide turns, there is hope that it may reach the shingle. Still, when such a big Conference assembles at Lambeth, we expect from it something more than an act of thankful recognition of this or any other consoling tendency of the times. Emphasizing the Divine purpose of visible unity does not carry us very far. There is another "fact of revelation" besides "the Divine purpose of visible unity among Christians," and that is the Divine purpose of sound doctrine among Christians. The whole difficulty is not in recognizing but in co-ordinating these two things. What the "Catholic-minded" followers reasonably desired of the Conference was that it should state clearly and distinctly the conditions which its members, as the representatives of the Anglican body—its only possible representatives in the eyes of anti-Erastian Anglicans—deemed to be necessary and at the same time sufficient, and which, therefore, they were prepared to offer to other religious communities. As they were proposing not merely to recommend in a general way that people interested should emphasize the Divine purpose of unity, but were likewise appointing committees to negotiate for eventual inter-communion with other religious communities, was it not particularly incumbent on them to draw up such a definite statement of the conditions offered? Similar negotiations were recommended and projected in the previous Conferences, but they do not seem to have come to any result. Was it wonderful, when there was no definite basis on which they could go?

But we may be told that the Lambeth Fathers have fully recognized the prior claim of truth, and have expressly laid down the conditions which they are prepared to offer to the other Churches. Well, in a sense, they have. They have not indeed said anything on this crucial point in the Encyclical itself, or in the appended Resolutions for which they make themselves responsible; but they have in the Report of Church Unity. There they tell us, with much emphasis, that they "cannot barter away any of their God-given trust," they "cannot concede any of their essential principles," and hence we

¹ P. 110.

find that "the question of unity led them to consider once more on what basis such unity might be established." They reconsidered, it seems, the Four Articles devised for this purpose by the Conference of 1888, and they (does "they" mean the Conference or only the Committee) "now to-day can only reaffirm this position as expressing all that we can formulate as a basis for conference."

The Articles referred to are found in Resolution XI. of the Conference of 1888, which runs thus :

That, in the opinion of this Conference, the following Articles supply a basis on which approach may be, by God's blessing, made towards Home Reunion.

(A) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as "containing all things necessary to salvation," and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

(B) The Apostles' Creed, as the Baptismal symbol ; and the Nicene Creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

(C) The two Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of institution, and of the elements ordained by Him.

(D) The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the Unity of His Church.

There is just the one element of uncertainty to which allusion has been made—that these Articles are not adopted by the Encyclical or the Resolutions of the recent Conference. Still, the Bishops would hardly have allowed the Committee to print them and claim them as Articles drawn up by the previous Conference, which it was now desired to reaffirm, unless they themselves accepted the position thus laid down. We may proceed therefore on the supposition that we have in these Four Articles the basis on which the coming negotiations are to be conducted. The question which now arises, or rather which has arisen, and has already been answered by the class of Anglicans we have in mind, is whether this basis is satisfactory, and whether it is likely to lead to any desirable mode of reunion. Is it satisfactory to those who view the subject from a Catholic standpoint, or even to the larger number of those who like people to say straight out what they mean ?

The difficulty is, in the first place, to know what the Conference means by "a basis." Do they mean that the Four Articles supply what the Anglican Church must require, but all

that it will require, so that if any other body is prepared to give this much it may count on its offer being accepted, and intercommunion being granted to it? Or do they mean only that this is to be the starting-point for any negotiations into which they can consent to enter, and that being such it represents approximately what they must require, and what they will yield, although they would wish to stipulate for a little more, and foresee that they may have to accept a little less? These two possibilities are distinguishable in themselves, and therefore required to be distinguished, since in negotiations it is essential that the parties should understand each other, and it is impossible for another to understand you, if you have not first succeeded in understanding yourself. Still, for our present study, it is not necessary to insist further on this distinction; it will be enough to assume, what we are surely entitled to assume, that the Four Articles supply, at least approximately, the sole conditions which the Anglican Church, speaking through the most impressive representation of its episcopate ever yet seen, will feel it necessary to exact of Churches entering into sacramental communion with it.

In other words, the "visible unity" after which they aspire is a visible unity of communion based on the wide toleration of divergent opinions, not a visible unity of communion based on a visible unity of belief, which in turn is based on a principle of authority. Let us understand clearly the distinction. In the Catholic Church all is kept together by the principle of authority. Authority has settled a range of questions so wide that it ensures certainty in regard to all the ordinary incidents and duties of spiritual life and conduct; but beyond this range of settled questions is an area of questions which as yet are only in the course of settlement, and on which the voice of authority may or may not speak at some future date. The consequent attitude of Catholics towards doctrine and practice is this. All that is settled they accept on the Church's authority, endeavouring to understand its meaning and to conform their lives to its standard. What is as yet unsettled they may differ over and dispute about, but only in so far as they hold themselves in readiness to submit to the decision of authority, if ever it should be given. Their unity of belief and communion is thus based on a *formal* principle.

The alternative principle of cohesion is not formal at all, but amounts to this. The uniting individuals or churches,

in the exercise of their judgment on Holy Scripture, find themselves to differ very much indeed in the beliefs they have gathered from its pages. Of these differing beliefs some they account so fundamental that they cannot consent to hold sacramental Communion with persons who think otherwise; but all other differences which lie outside this inner ring of fundamentals they are prepared to tolerate in one another, and will not feel themselves bound to break off communion in consequence. It will be noticed that in this second system authority has no part, for authority, unless the word is to be taken merely in a derived sense, is an attribute of a living teacher, not of a dead book. It will be noticed also that in this second system the ring of fundamentals may be larger or smaller according as the uniting parties attach vital importance to a larger or smaller number of doctrines. It will be noticed likewise that the first system alone merits the name of Catholic in its ordinary sense, the very essence of the distinction between Catholicism and Protestantism lying in this, that one bows to authority, the other clings to the right of private judgment.

We see, then—and the Catholic-minded Anglicans are taking note of it—that their most recent Lambeth Conference has been faithful to the tradition of its predecessors, and has raised a Protestant, not a Catholic, standard of unity. But we see also how very wide is the door which they fling open; how few are the fundamentals they propose to exact. Given a religious body like the American Methodists, who have a three-fold ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. They fulfil all the conditions asked by the Conference, or would do so if only they were to allow—we are not even sure whether the Conference would exact this—their Bishops to undergo a ceremony of consecration at the hands of some Anglican prelate. Indeed, even less than a body of Episcopalian Methodists might be prepared to give, would sufficiently comply with the Lambeth conditions. There is an ominous passage in the Report on Church Unity which, if words mean anything, must have been intended to signify that the four Articles of the previous Conference are deemed susceptible of a far-going Rationalistic interpretation.

The circumstances of our Christendom [this Report says] are rapidly producing the condition which is antagonistic to separation. The circumstances to which we refer are such as these: larger and more liberal views of the interpretation of Scripture; movements which

enlarge and correct men's knowledge of primitive Church history ; the overthrow of metaphysical systems which deprave and discolour the attributes of God ; belief in and love of the living ascended Christ, giving earnestness and beauty to Christian worship ; thought critical, ethical, æsthetic—these things are bringing about the condition in which union will be as natural as disunion has been for some centuries.

That a door so wide should be opened to outsiders is not, perhaps, remarkable in itself. Rather it seems only reasonable on the part of a Church which allows quite that latitude of belief and practice to her own sons. But those who have learnt to lay stress on doctrines like the Real Objective Presence, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, Confession, and the Power of Absolution, and have fondly persuaded themselves that their Church had been faithful in preserving this precious inheritance of the old religion ; those who precisely on that ground had deemed themselves entitled to claim corporate reunion with the Holy See—with what feelings must they listen to this project for negotiation in which all such doctrines are treated as of minor consequence ? What, too, must be their feelings when, turning sadly from the pages of this Report on Church Unity, to inspect the list of those who were on the Committee, they find among them the Archbishop of York (Chairman), and the Bishop of London ? These two prelates are not likely to have been on the Committee without influencing powerfully its conclusions, and yet they are the two who of late have been regarded as specially favourable to the Reunion doings of the High Church party.

But we have not yet done with the Reunion paragraphs of the Encyclical. Several committees are to be appointed to negotiate with external communities, in the hopes of "establishing a clearer understanding and closer relations with them," and the bodies to be thus approached are the Churches of the East, the *Unitas Fratrum*, the "Scandinavian Church," and the Nonconformists at home.

On the unity of the Church our committee has not been able to propose any resolutions which would bind us to immediate further action. A committee has been appointed to open correspondence with a view to establish a clearer understanding and closer relations with the Churches of the East. The Archbishop of Canterbury has been requested to appoint committees to look into the position of the *Unitas Fratrum* and the Scandinavian Church, with both of which we desire to cultivate the most friendly possible relations. We recommend also that every opportunity be taken to emphasize the Divine purpose of

visible unity amongst Christians as a fact of revelation. We recommend that committees of Bishops be appointed everywhere to watch for and originate opportunities of united prayer and mutual conference between representatives of different Christian bodies, and to give counsel where counsel may be asked ; these committees to report to the next Lambeth Conference what has been accomplished in this matter.

Above all, we urge the duty of special intercession for the unity of the Church in accordance with the Lord's own prayer as recorded in the Gospel of St. John.

And further, an expression of sympathy and encouragement with their respective movements is offered to the Old Catholics, and to the authors of other attempts to divide the Catholic Church on the Continent, in Mexico, and in Brazil—the Old Catholics in Germany and Switzerland being spoken of as already in communion with the Anglican Church, but the others being left without an invitation to share in this privilege :

We recognize with warm sympathy the endeavours that are being made to escape from the usurped authority of the See of Rome as we ourselves regained our freedom three centuries ago. We are well aware that such movements may sometimes end in quitting not merely the Roman obedience, but the Catholic Church itself, and surrendering the doctrine of the Sacraments, or even some of the great verities of the Creeds. But we must not anticipate that men will go wrong until they have begun to do so, and we feel some confidence in expressing our warm desire for friendly relations with the Old Catholic community in Germany, with the Christian Catholic Church in Switzerland, and with the Old Catholics in Austria ; our attitude of hopeful interest in the endeavour to form an autonomous Church in Mexico and in the work now being done in Brazil ; and our sympathy with the brave and earnest men (if we may use the words of the Conference of 1888) of France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, who have been driven to free themselves from the burden of unlawful terms of communion imposed by the Church of Rome.

The first thing which must strike us here is the strange medley of incompatible elements. Who, we ask ourselves, could wish to enter into communion with religious bodies so diverse in themselves as the Churches of the East, which, except for their attitude towards the See of Peter, are in their faith and practice practically identical with the Catholic Church, and Old Catholics, which are nearly so, and at the same time with bodies like the *Unitas Fratrum* (i.e., the Moravians), the Scandinavian Lutherans, and the Nonconformist bodies at home and in the United States? But the puzzle is solved when we

reflect on the heterogeneous composition of the Lambeth episcopate. It is obvious that we have here another veil hiding a radical difference of aims and objects. The High Church Bishops suggested the approach to the Eastern Churches, and drew attention to the recent interchange of courtesies between English and Russian ecclesiastics. The Low Church Bishops then objected, and suggested that the fitter subjects for approach were the Moravian Brethren, and the Scandinavian Lutherans, with whom their clergy are brought in contact in the foreign missions and in America; and their Nonconformist Brethren at home. In the dispute, if such there was, each side will have appealed to the precedents set by the Conference of 1888, and the propriety of carrying on the work from where that Conference had left it. From such a clash of desires the natural outlet, according to Anglican Episcopal conceptions, was by accepting both proposals and taking refuge in a few vague phrases. Hence we have three separate committees for dealing with the Easterns, the Scandinavians, and the Moravians, and a recommendation to appoint committees in various places to deal with the local Nonconformists. Hence too we have the hand held out to German Old Catholics on the one side, and on the other to the ultra-Protestant sects recently started in Mexico by the American Board of Missions, and in Spain and Portugal by Signor Cabrera—against the schismatic character of whose consecration, by-the-by, when it was undertaken by Archbishop Plunket, the English Church Union felt it necessary to protest in a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. Archbishop Plunket always maintained against his censors that he was only doing what the Lambeth Conference of 1888 had encouraged him to do. His contention is perfectly borne out by the Conference of 1897.

The bare fact that the Lambeth Bishops should be proposing to negotiate with these various communities, and be inviting them to union on a basis of such wide comprehension,¹ is enough of itself to stamp the Lambeth Conference as thoroughly Protestant in its character. Still it is of interest

¹ It is true that the Four Articles are expressly offered as a basis for negotiation only to the Nonconformists, but if they are offered to them, they must be offered to the others likewise. It may indeed be that some other Churches will be prepared to hold more in common with the Anglican Church than is contained in the Four Articles. Still it would be necessary for the Anglican Church to explain to such other Churches that it did not stipulate for more than these points, and it would be as a Church of that nature that the other Churches would have to unite with it,

to speculate as to the probable results of the negotiations. In spite of the ecclesiastical civilities interchanged between Russia and England during the visits of Archbishop Maclagan and Bishop Creighton to Russia, and of the Archbishop of Finland to this country, in spite too of the coming visit of four Russian ecclesiastics to study the ways of the Anglican Church, we doubt much if anything will come of the negotiations with Russia. The Lambeth Bishops seem to imagine that further knowledge of each other is the chief thing wanted, and that when it is completed these two Churches may be expected to rush into each other's arms. But we fear lest the effect of increased knowledge should be of an opposite kind. The English know the Russians sufficiently already; but the Russians do not as yet know much of the English. When they have learnt to know them, and to know that they are a comprehensive Church which negotiates on the basis of the Four Articles, we fear the Russians will drop them like a hot coal—for the Russians hate a comprehensive Church, being practically as Catholic as we are, save for the one point of Papal Supremacy.

As regards the other Churches mentioned, if we do not anticipate that much will come of the overtures to them, it is only because, somehow or other, they do not seem to care much about Reunion, and perhaps too the Anglican Bishops are not very serious in their negotiations. Otherwise the liberal platform of the Four Articles should surely smooth the path for all of them. Mr. Hugh Price Hughes opined at the Canterbury lunch, that on due examination it would probably be found that the barrier separating Anglicans and Nonconformists was chiefly social. What he meant doubtless was that a Bishop, in Nonconformist eyes, was chiefly a man who sat in the House of Lords, lived in a palace, drew five thousand a year, and moved in society. It is the social magnate to which the Nonconformist chiefly objects; but the present generation of Bishops are fast stripping themselves of social exclusiveness, whilst, on the other hand, the readiness to "adapt the Historic Episcopate in its methods of administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples," should suffice to satisfy completely the Nonconformist taste. The President, for instance, of the Wesleyan Conference is practically a Bishop. Let him be consecrated by an Anglican Bishop so as to make his episcopate "historic," and all the rest—the temporary character of his tenure, and the controlling powers of the Nonconformist laity—

would come well within the scope of the permitted adaptation to varying needs. The Scandinavians, if we may trust the interesting information about their Orders supplied in the Report on Church Unity, have an historical succession and an Ordinal which quite attains to the standard claimed as sufficient by the Anglican Archbishops in their recent *Responsio*. There ought therefore to be no impediment in the way of Reunion with them. The aforesaid Report is more jejune on the history and methods of the Moravians. To judge, however, from the account given of them in Holmes' *History of the Moravian Brethren*, they too comply already with the requirements of the Four Articles. They have a three-fold ministry, and a succession which goes back to the pre-Reformation period, and it is hard to think that their Ordinal would fail to reach the easy standard of sufficiency advocated in the *Responsio*. As for doctrine, the Moravians can at least appeal to the Act of Parliament of 1749, which in accepting them in this kingdom as a recognized religious denomination, described them as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church which had been countenanced and relieved by the Kings of England, his Majesty's predecessors," and declared that "their doctrine differed in no essential article of faith from that of the Church of England as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles." It would seem therefore as though, if we leave out the "Churches of the East," the Lambeth Fathers might hope for a favourable result of their negotiations with the various religious bodies they have in mind. And yet somehow or other we fear, as they apparently do too, that the favourable result will not come in the future any more than in the past. Although union on a basis of comprehension seems so easy, and union on the basis of complete submission to a single ecumenical authority seems so difficult to poor human nature, the experience of three hundred years has shown us that it is as hard for the separatists to unite on the former basis, as it is easy for Catholics to hold together on the latter.

There is one more significant feature in the Lambeth Encyclical which has not passed unobserved. We believe that many Anglicans were looking for some direct reference to what has been happening between Rome and England during the last three years. They even expected that such a reference would form a prominent feature in the Encyclical. That these expectations have not been realized may perhaps be due to the spirit of peace which the Bishops were endeavouring to

cultivate; for we must acknowledge the kindly spirit which animates the sections on this subject in the Report of the Committee—although this Report still persists in the curious misconception that the Pope has thrown over the superabundant arguments which he did not require to use. But the omission which will strike every one as so significant is the omission of all reference to the Archbishops' *Responsio*. The Report in a single clause alludes to it as an historical fact, and thereby brought it officially under the notice of the Conference. But the Conference itself passes it by in absolute silence. Why this mysterious reticence?

The question is as easy to answer as to put. Manifestly we have here another instance of the decent veil cast over a conflict of views. The *Responsio* does not really defend Anglican Orders from a Catholic point of view; rather it is a curious mixture in which an essentially Protestant doctrine of the ministry is clothed in a somewhat Catholic phraseology. The result, however, of the mixture has been to confuse minds in a wonderful way. The High Church party have been captured by the Catholic phraseology, and have lauded the *Responsio* to the skies. The Low Church party have been repelled by the same, and have bewailed the document as an act verging on apostasy. Whilst neither side has seen that its doctrine—which is, after all, of more importance than phraseology—should have exactly reversed their attitude towards it. Such being the respective feelings of the two parties towards it, when they met at Lambeth we understand how one party must have desired its acceptance and the other its condemnation by the Conference, and how the strange reticence which we find in the Encyclical was the compromise in which the conflict terminated. Still it was a compromise in which the Low Churchmen obtained the larger share; for to pass over a document of so much importance in which the two principal members of the Conference had co-operated, was a virtual declaration that the Conference disclaimed all connection with their Graces' action. So that we have in this significant omission one more demonstration of the essentially Protestant character of the Anglican communion.

What, then, is to be our final judgment on the Lambeth Encyclical? It seems to us that the conclusion it supports is precisely that which Mr. Fillingham of Hexton has lately been advocating. Mr. Fillingham may not be a dignitary, or a

prominent leader in the communion to which he belongs, but he has the merit of stating the Anglican position with a directness which, if a little brutal, is at all events incisively clear. "It is a Church which does not teach," he says, "and just for that very reason I like it." This conception is intelligible, and though they will not all own to it, is undoubtedly that which possesses almost entirely the minds of the present generation of Anglicans. Their Church is for them a religious organization in which a certain degree of order is maintained as regards the assignment of work, but in which perfect freedom is left to each individual to believe and teach what he deems right, and, within a certain broad area, to give his own ritual expression to his personal beliefs. We do not say that the Anglican communion was always thus. The formularies witness to a more rigid system as originally intended. But the originally intended system is obsolete. It has been destroyed by public opinion and ecclesiastical lawsuits. That system must be held to exist now which is now allowed to prevail, and there is no longer any practical obstacle to prevent a teaching and practice approximating to that of the Catholic Church, from existing side by side with a teaching and practice in close affinity with that of Calvinism, and perhaps with a third system difficult to distinguish from Deism or even Positivism. We are not complaining of the system in itself. If it were true that our Lord had made no provision for the perpetual guardianship of His revelation; if he had left man to devise his own methods for groping his way through the gloom, and striving to detect the uncertain outline of the truths intended for him, then such an organization would seem the best adapted to his needs; for then we could have nothing better, and it would be possible to infuse into the working of the system a spirit of piety and zeal, of charity and purity, and of other virtues, which would have a powerful effect in purifying and elevating men's hearts and preparing them for Heaven. The Anglican communion is itself an illustration—a very bright illustration—of this, and in the actions and utterances of the Lambeth Conference, what we really witness is the earnest endeavour of a non-teaching system to grapple with its own peculiar problems, and, by solving them appropriately, to perfect its capacity for doing the kind of good which lies within its reach.

It is only when any one attempts to regard a Lambeth Conference as an assembly of Catholic prelates endowed with

a real teaching authority under commission from our Lord Himself, that its pronouncements and recommendations begin to appear in a ludicrous light. And it is this only that we have sought to show. For the conscientious endeavour of the Lambeth prelates to meet the necessities of their own non-teaching communion, and develop its power of doing good work, we have nothing but sympathy and admiration. We would exhort, however, those whom we have called Catholic-minded Anglicans to learn the lesson which this Encyclical points out so clearly. They know, as we do, that our Lord did not leave His revelation unguarded, and His children to grope after a truth wrapped up in the darkness of uncertainty. They know that He did leave behind Him a teaching Church to be our sure guide from earth to Heaven, and their only perplexity is where to look for the teaching Church. Have they not had now at last sufficient proof that they must not look for it at Lambeth? "The Church of England," said Cardinal Manning on one occasion, when referring to the Gorham judgment, "was asked to speak as a teacher sent from God. She did not speak—because God had not sent her." As it was then, so it is now at Lambeth. She has not spoken because God has not sent her.

The American Medical Association is a non-profit corporation organized for the purpose of promoting the interests of the medical profession and the public. It was founded in 1847 and has since that time been the leading organization of the medical profession in the United States. The Association is composed of more than 50,000 members, who are physicians, surgeons, dentists, and other medical practitioners. The Association's principal activities are the publication of the Journal of the American Medical Association, the holding of annual meetings, and the advocacy of the interests of the medical profession and the public. The Association is also engaged in a wide variety of other activities, including the promotion of medical research, the improvement of medical education, and the advancement of the public health.

The Journal of the American Medical Association is a weekly publication that contains a wide variety of articles on medical topics. The articles are written by leading medical authorities and are of high scientific and clinical value. The Journal is also a valuable source of information on the latest developments in medicine. The Association's annual meetings are held in a different city each year and attract thousands of medical practitioners from all over the world. The meetings provide an excellent opportunity for medical practitioners to meet and exchange ideas with their colleagues. The Association's advocacy activities are aimed at the improvement of the medical profession and the public. The Association has been successful in many of its efforts, including the establishment of the Federal Food and Drug Administration and the National Institutes of Health.

The Pan-Anglican Congress.

I. ITS GENERAL ASPECTS.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J.

II. REUNION PROSPECTS.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Pan-Anglican Congress.

I. ITS GENERAL ASPECTS.

WHEN men come together in a crowd, from great distances, at considerable trouble and expense, to advance what they take to be the cause of God and His Christ, it would ill become that charity, which along with faith should characterize a Catholic, to speak scoffingly of their performances, however much those performances leave to be desired from a Catholic point of view. We have to be thankful for a little savour of the next world, in an age the besetting sin of which is the neglect of the next world altogether. Yet it must be confessed, the Pan-Anglican Congress savours very much of the present world, not too much of the world to come. As the *Times* of June 19th said, "it is the range of subjects which astonishes the ordinary man, . . . he begins to wonder whether all life is not somehow Anglican, . . . there seems to be little which the Anglican Communion considers to be outside of its purview." But in that purview the supernatural element,—grace, forgiveness of sin, dogma, Sacraments, and especially that Sacrament of Sacraments which gives its name to our Eucharistic Congress,—all this element, while not entirely excluded, is certainly far from conspicuous. To do the members of the Congress justice, many of them doubtless think more of these subjects than they care to say in public, for in an assembly so comprehensive every man is afraid of his neighbour.

Nor must we too impatiently cry with Hamlet, "words, words, words." A redundancy of words is inevitable in the free discussion of many speakers. One cannot but acknowledge the good humour and tact with which the discussions have been carried on, evidently in an assembly of gentlemen. The exclusion of heated political strife was admirable. Besides, we may fairly expect that the more practical side of the Congress will not be that which appears in the public prints. Many a plan has been proposed, many an understanding arrived

at, many an arrangement concluded by private negotiation. Old friends have met and agreed on common action, and new friendships have been made in the same cause.

One great lesson for us Catholics to learn from the Pan-Anglican is zeal for Foreign Missions. We boast of being an imperial people: the Pan-Anglican represents the *diffusus per orbem Britannus*: of its 250 assembled Bishops the great majority are from foreign and even outlandish places. Their presence has given to the discussions quite a cosmopolitan character. On the other hand, the fault apt to beset English and Irish Catholics is that of being too local and parochial. The Irish emigrant carries the faith with him, but the priest does not always follow the emigrant, and abroad the faith is often lost. Then there are the coloured races, and the myriads of Asiatics, all with souls: little enough do they hear from Great Britain of Catholic Christianity. We have the Society of Foreign Missions, the great foundation of Cardinal Vaughan, recently erected by the Holy Father into a Congregation: there are the English Jesuit Missions in South Africa and the West Indies: there is the labour of Irish Jesuit and English Benedictine in Australia: still the Catholic Church throughout the British Empire would be in sorry plight, sorrier than it actually is, had it to depend on these Islands for its support. To Foreign Missions may be added interest in the Social Question at home, a topic very much to the fore at the Congress. But on that second head we are distinctly making progress.

For Catholics the most interesting section of the Congress is Section F, the Anglican Communion. There is a note of negation in the very name. The Anglican Body is not in communion with Constantinople and other Eastern Churches, but it is not that negation that matters. No one is in much pain about that. Again, the Anglican Body is not in communion with the numerous Dissenting Bodies in this country and America, to say nothing of Protestant Germany. Overtures have been made: conciliatory messages have come to the Congress from Baptist and Methodist: but many fear, and the High Church party vehemently protest, that for the Anglican Church to travel that way would be to unchurch herself, and provoke a secession. Likely enough, however, she will travel that way, and the secession will come in time: then there may be question of some reunion, not of the Anglican Establishment as a whole (of that there never can be question), but of a fragment broken off

from the Establishment, seeking reunion with Rome. "Anglican Communion" carries one great negation: it is "Non-Roman Communion:" in sober truth it is Insularity, Isolation, and Schism. The remedy is given in Viscount Halifax's words, spoken at the Congress on the 18th of June: "Every loyal and intelligent member of the Anglican Communion should desire the renewal of communion with Rome." And, presiding in that Section, the Bishop of Gibraltar admitted: "Intercommunion with any Church but the Roman Church would be like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out." But that, he thought, was out of the question. The mind of the Congress was voiced by the Rev. Acland Troyte: "At this moment Rome was best left alone." At such a Congress in earlier ages, had the materials for such an Assembly existed, Rome would not have been left alone, would have been denounced in Apocalyptic language. The Congress has been singularly free from the taint of No Popery. The Protestant Press Association was not in evidence.

In such an assembly it was inevitable that Comprehensiveness should be preached.

There was room [said the Bishop of Durham, June 19th], within the Church of England for more than one human commentary upon the divine text record of the institution of the Eucharist. The text record was divine: every interpretation outside the words of Scripture was a human commentary: it might be of supreme importance and significance, but still not to be treated as if it were the original divine record.

Singular it must appear to a Catholic, that on a text of such "supreme importance and significance," the living guidance of the Holy Ghost in the Church should be able to furnish nothing better than "a human commentary." In an earlier meeting (June 16th), the Rev. W. Frere distinguished between Comprehension and Undenominationalism. "Undenominationalism was not comprehensive, but exclusive. Comprehensiveness meant the emphasizing of positives, not negatives. Comprehension meant the welcoming of extremes. Their message was to hold up the idea of unity in diversity." A message singularly well delivered, to be sure, but extremely perplexing to the hearer. It looks more like the professedly human teaching of a University than a message, purporting to be from God, delivered by a Church.

As might have been expected, in the struggle of contra-

dictory positives, *i.e.*, of positive contraries within the wide net of Comprehension spread at the Congress, some upholders of the most thorough-going rationalism insisted on their views being the fittest to survive. Thus a Doctor of Divinity in the University of Oxford took up his parable against "legalist religions," defining that "a legalist religion is one supposing a code of rules promulgated by a supernatural revelation and to be accepted simply on authority." Christianity, he said, was "a religion of the Spirit," which he explained to mean a religion in which "each generation was free to examine the truth for itself." It "appealed to the progressive conscience of mankind." We have lately been familiarized with this teaching under the name of Modernism. St. John, no Modernist, "saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven from God."¹ As the city, so is also the law of the city from God. Judaism was of God, but not final: God has spoken finally in His Son.² There is no progress beyond Christianity. Christianity is the law of God and the yoke of Christ, once and for ever binding, once and for ever imposed, or there is nothing distinctive about it. The praise of law in the 118th (119th) Psalm is enjoined to be read daily in the church by all in Sacred Orders. St. Paul gives it as the characteristic of Antichrist that he is to be "the lawless one."³ As for "the Spirit," are there not also "lying spirits," one especially, who "hath not stood in the truth"? Are we not therefore directed to "prove the spirits," and prove them by their soundness on the doctrine of the Incarnation?⁴ Then for Conscience, one who above other men extolled and magnified Conscience, one who left a great position for Conscience sake, has warned us of a counterfeit to Conscience, which is sheer and simple self-will. The way of the Spirit and of Conscience may not be so safe as it is represented. Anglicanism, anyhow, does not count it a way on which a man may well be let walk alone; or why all these Shepherds' Crooks lifted up, as the hymn has it,

From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand?

If they bear no divine commission to feed the flock in the obedience of faith, the 250 prelates walking in procession on St. John's Day to St. Paul's should be given some other name

¹ Apoc. xxi. 2.

² Heb. i. 1, 2.

³ ὁ ἀνομος 2 Thess. ii. 8.

⁴ 1 St. John iv. 1, 2.

than that of Bishops. Considering what was said over it, one rather marvels at the easy optimism of the Bishop of Southwark, who said that day's subject (Christianity and other Religions, June 18th), might be called "the pivot of the whole work of the Congress." A rocking and unsteady pivot, surely. Still from one point of view the Chairman was right in describing the debate as "most helpful and instructive." It argues what Anglicanism will come to, when the High Church element in it has either evaporated or gone elsewhere.

To pass to uncontroversial subjects, and first that topic of common interest, "the recruiting for Holy Orders," some noble words were spoken by the Bishop of London (June 17th).

To be ordained and give oneself away for the service of God was the happiest thing in the world. Ordination was the one way of getting rid of the greatest curse a man had, and that was himself. The greatest honour a father or mother could have was to have a boy come and say, I want to be ordained.

A useful discussion followed on "discovering and liberating the vocations of the young," and on "alms to equip poor men for the ministry." A layman from Bathurst, Australia, said that "after a man had been in the ministry a few years he should be assured of at least £200 a year," a sentiment to evoke a warm response from every Clerical breast. Will ever a supplementary verse to the Acts be discovered, giving an exact return of the incomes of Paul and Barnabas at the end of the First Missionary Journey?

The debate on Secular Education (June 17th) was also in the main good. Dr. Neligan, Bishop of Auckland, said happily: "Religious education meant education given religiously." Canon Pughe of Brisbane: "If secular education were continued in the colony, they would be no longer clergy, but missionaries to the heathen." A blacker prospect still was opened out by a London head-mistress: "Given forty years of secular education all over the world, would it ever be possible to hold a Pan-Anglican Congress?" The Pope is rarely mentioned at the Congress, but the debate on Agnosticism and Pantheism (June 17th) was not improved by a Cambridge Professor saying: "It was a disaster that the Pope and his predecessor had definitely united what should be the living body of Christian theology with the corpse of Scholasticism." As though Scholasticism were not the one philosophy that is not panthe-

istic at core! "Corpse of Scholasticism" we believe was a quotation: we seem to have read the phrase elsewhere. On faith-healing, Bishop Mylne was in accordance with St. James: "Unction (of the sick) should be revived under a form prescribed by authority." And we gladly endorse one piece of advice given at the Albert Hall by His Grace of Canterbury: "Think out the faith and its application."

On Working Boys' Clubs (June 19th) remarks were made in which we should all concur. The Rev. O. G. Mackie (Leeds) said "no parish was well equipped unless it had some club for its rough working lads to keep them from the perils of the street and the attractions of the public house." Colonel Ford said that the boy "hit the right nail on the head who answered that the object of the brigade was to make him clean outside and in." Sister Kate Gallwey "affirmed the importance of the idea of God being brought into everything that the Church clubs did. She regarded as the greatest danger to the girl the penny novelette. If they made the girl a lover of good reading they did her a service which would last through her life."

On Capital, two remarkable speeches, one by Mr. Masterman, M.P., another by Canon Scott Holland, exposed the impersonal nature of modern capital. Capital belongs to companies, where the individual shareholder scarcely knows, still less can control its disposal, while managers and directors are overborne by pecuniary considerations, pressed upon them by shareholders. Capital has become "abstract, unhuman, cosmopolitan." "It had delocalized itself, and thereby dehumanized itself. It was everywhere and anywhere, and the only people who did not know where it was were the shareholders."

The domestic arrangements, to be seen in the Hand-book doubtless will be studied by those who are responsible for our Eucharistic Congress. The mere list of subjects is of importance to us as showing what people of a religious mind in England are thinking about, and what they look for from the Church. The most directly supernatural demand put forward by the Congress was a demand that men should be brought to "live the life of Christ," not in any mere distant imitation, but in intimate personal union with Him. If there was shown some tendency to disregard dogma, and insist on "life" only, the Catholic at any rate knows that supernatural life, being rational and not merely emotional, is founded upon dogma, charity upon faith. The Feasts that we have been

keeping this month of June,—Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Sacred Heart,—tell us of Christ living in us, and of our incorporation in Him in the living Body of the Church. That after all is what England wants.

What one clergyman called "the splendid Socialism of this great Congress" has been animadverted upon in the daily Press. A great responsibility rests upon such an Assembly meeting to tell mankind, as the same clergyman said, that "Christianity was the religion of which Socialism was the practice." One would have thought that Christianity was the religion of the Kingdom of Heaven, while Socialism teaches man to lay hold of the things of earth. But the term "Socialism," like "Liberalism," is used in so many different senses that a wise man will not pronounce in favour of Socialism without a previous definition. If it had been placarded up and down the Albert Hall that by "Socialism" was understood "State Ownership of all Capital," the enthusiasm of the Congress on that head might have considerably cooled down. It is so easy to echo what happens for the hour to be a popular cry, with little thought of the meaning. On this, as on other points, many speakers at the Congress showed a tendency to yield to the sentiment: "Our dear Church must be popularized, she is getting out of favour with the nation." So Dissenters, Secularists, the Laity generally, Lady Deaconesses in particular, Working-men and Socialists, all must be courted, all bidden to hope good things of the Establishment. "Wage-earning must become a thing of the past," cried Canon Jephson. Surely, under Socialism, we should all be wage-earners: only the payer of our wages would be some communal body. But a body acts through individuals; and if the individual capitalist, as the Rev. A. J. Carlyle truly said, may be "capricious and stupid," so, alas, as we know to our sorrow, may the individual officials who represent public bodies. This point was well urged by the Rev. Lord William Cecil.

Before we had society controlling the means of production and distribution, we must have a new society. If it were possible to have a society sinless and absolutely wise, the more power given to it the better. But supposing the Government were liable to acts of tyranny, injustice, and unpolicy? No speaker had ever suggested any method of getting rid of a bureaucracy. Think of the treatment given to the poor in the casual ward. Was a power that deliberately treated the poor like that to be trusted with more power? If greater force were to

be given to organized power, then selfish men would soon control that organized power; and Socialists would soon bemoan the fact that they had called up this great power which acted in the direction exactly contrary to that which was expected.

Hereupon a reverend gentleman airily remarked: "The fallacy of Lord William was his assumption that it was possible to give greater power to Government. Government was already supreme." Supreme in jurisdiction, yes: in ownership, no. Socialism proposes precisely to "give greater power to Government" by making that which is already supreme in civil authority supreme also in proprietary right. Has the Vicar of St. Mark's, Leicester, ever read in his Seneca: *Omnia Cæsar possidet imperio, singuli dominio*—"All things are Cæsar's to govern, but they remain in the ownership of private individuals"?

On the Criticism of the Bible "widely divergent views were expressed." So the *Times* reports, and so the speakers themselves evidently thought. In the printed reports however the divergence does not appear so very wide. Reverence for the Word of God seems generally to have prevailed, that reverence which is the first requisite for any profitable Biblical study. The term "Criticism," we may observe, does not savour of reverence. There may be criticism of dubious or conflicting readings, criticism of collateral historical detail, but, for a Catholic, no criticism of the main burden of the Divine Message, once that becomes manifest. And so several speakers at the Congress evidently considered.

The discussions on a Central Authority for Anglicanism culminated in the recommendation of a Central Advisory Board,—not very practical, we fear. Canon Newbolt thought that

the lesson of history would teach them that a central authority was not the best form of government for the whole Church or for large portions of its whole, . . . but that by no means ruled out of court the formation of a consultative body, whose learning should be above suspicion and its impartiality beyond question: such a body must be strictly advisory.

Bishop Montgomery said, "it was impossible to look forward to an Anglican Popc." Would Crown and Parliament permit one?

All's well that ends well. Much was said on the last day of the Conference that we can record with pleasure.

Among the obstacles in the Church to the reception of the Holy Spirit the Bishop of Durham suggested the shallow and withering quest for popularity for its own sake, and the fatal introduction in her work of worldly methods for promoting the cause of Christ. Was it not widely known and widely mourned, this compromise with methods of the world, in the sense of the human life that ignored and did not submit to God? Things had come to a sad pass here and there, till it was believed that the whist-drive and the fancy-ball, perhaps with a clergyman in it, could be legitimate items in the parochial life. . . . There was in many a life, in many a Church circle, . . . nothing that more needed to be seen to than the giving up of tolerated and decent sinning without delay and without mercy. . . . Let them determine, person by person, that they would not live below their true level nor at their second-best.

The Bishop of Salisbury, speaking of Personal Consecration, said :

It involved, first, separation from evil ; secondly, determination to work for God ; thirdly, self-sacrifice. To many an Englishman the early conditions of life were almost ideal : he was kept very separate from evil. But parents needed to work much harder than they generally did. . . . They should teach their children themselves the elements of prayer, confession of sin, supplication, intercession, thanksgiving. Let them pray first at their knees, then by their sides, be strict themselves, and be strict with them (for laxity of discipline was no kindness) as to family prayers and church-going. They should plan to spend their Sundays with them, and make them days of religious enjoyment, not paltry amusement : let them into the secret of their best thoughts, and be in their presence their best selves. There was a great call for men and women who would consecrate themselves absolutely ; yet he would remind them that the Christian statesman and social reformer, the Christian warrior, the Christian scholar, poet, and thinker, the Christian lawyer, or physician, or man of science, the Christian banker, merchant, manufacturer and trader had also professions of which no man could measure the sanctifying power.

Would that every Catholic parent, every young man entering on life, would take to heart these words.

On prayer, one gladly subscribes to positions like these, laid down by various speakers : " The real truth was that they needed prayer, strong, vigorous, continuous, united and intelligent prayer " : " theological colleges needed to be more schools

of prayer, churches needed to be more schools of prayer, and the clergy needed much more to be pupil teachers in the school of prayer: people were losing their capacity for public united prayer: praying people were very rare" [outside of the Catholic Church].

Why [Canon Newbolt asked] was the Church in all its activities making itself so little felt? Why did sin keep such a terribly high level of flood-tide? Prayer was the greatest power in the world, and yet we were face to face with evils which seemed to defy it. No, the mountain did not move, the tree was not plucked up by its roots. Why was it? He suggested that it was because, while there were great organizers, great preachers, great missionaries, there were no great prayers, who, if they knew it, wielded the greatest power in the world.

There is but one Church on earth, the Visible Church of which the Pope is the Head. There are some,—many, we hope, of the thousands who attended the Anglican Congress,—connected with the Visible Church by ties of Baptism, of faith (however imperfect) and divine charity, otherwise called "the state of grace," and not cut off from it by wilful adherence to what they know, or are responsible for not knowing, to be heresy and schism. But these are an individual here and an individual there: they do not make a Church, for a Church is essentially an organized body, and the organization of the Establishment, as such, is positively anti-Catholic. These men,—and God alone knows them one by one, and how many they are,—are, though they know it not, out of their right place in the *wild olive*: they are invisibly and unconsciously *grafted contrary to nature in the good olive, and share the fatness of the root*:¹ they benefit by the Masses, Holy Communions, and intercessions that are offered up in the Catholic Church. We must pray God to draw them out of their unnatural position, as many of them as He will. Some in His adorable counsels He will leave as they are: possibly, greater light than is given them would be not their resurrection, but their ruin, as they would lack the courage to follow it. Meanwhile we welcome and hail with delight every bit of genuine Christianity that the Pan-Anglican Congress has brought out. Some specimens we have given, and might have added many more. Of course there were discordant notes; and many weaknesses were manifest, inherent in the system of Anglicanism. We deplore the hereditary

¹ Rom. xi. 17—24.

schism, that separates so many excellent men from visible communion with the one visible Church. We willingly respond to the invitation to united prayer. We should wish to regard it as a gauntlet thrown down, and left on the floor behind by the Pan-Anglican for our Eucharistic Congress to take up. The more prayer, the nearer to God, and the nearer to the Catholic Church. God grant to the Anglican Bishops, Clergy, and Laity assembled at the Congress, to some of them at least and to the children of some of them,—to adopt a noble line of Aeschylus,—

ἐς δὲ δῶμ' ἄελπτον ὡς ἂν ἡγήται—εὐχή,

that prayer may lead them to a home they little thought to see, the home of the Roman Obedience.

II. REUNION PROSPECTS.

MANY interesting questions were ventilated at the Pan-Anglican Congress, on some of which something has been said in the preceding article. But on one of them we should like to dwell a little more at length. It is the old, old question of Reunion which forced itself on the attention of the Congress, and entered into their discussions in many ways. How could it have been otherwise? From all parts of the world they had come together, and in zeal for the service of their Master, and the desire to extend His Kingdom, they found themselves to be of one heart and one soul. It was an inspiring consciousness, but it could not but evoke thoughts of sadness as well as of joy. So many united together to this degree, and yet so many more throughout the world akin to them in the participation of this zeal and desire, but separated from them in communion, and because of their separation feeling constrained to set up rival churches and altars in every part of the world! Even in the ranks of these assembled Anglicans themselves, divisions and oppositions of belief so marked and so radical as to prevent them from delivering as from the lips of the Master a one-voiced message! And the ultimate outcome of it all in the scandal that has fastened like a parasite on the fair name of Christian, and caused men to say in mockery that evangelists who could not agree among themselves should surely not attempt to make disciples of others! If it could only be

otherwise ; if only these hateful divisions could disappear for ever, and the entire mass of those who go forth as apostles of Christ could go forth all one, as the Master had prayed that they might be and intended that they should be, one in belief and one in worship and communion, and by this spectacle of an all-pervading unity, displaying to the world a signal proof that He Himself had sent them, that their doctrines were His teachings, and their worship and sacraments were His institutions ! What might not be anticipated if such a restoration of unity were accomplished ? What a mighty accession of spiritual force would then be available for the healing of the nations ! What hindrances removed, what sources of scepticism dried up, what perplexities for unsophisticated souls dispelled, what discords reconciled, what waste of splendid energies saved !

It is perhaps hardly necessary to show by quotations how these points were presented to the Congress, but the following are of interest.

Christendom [writes Mr. H. Leverett Chase, a layman of the Anglican diocese of Missouri,¹] presents the sad spectacle of a household divided against itself. Aside from problems extant elsewhere, the Anglican communion co-exists to-day throughout the English-speaking world side by side with earnest devoted Christian believers who are descendants of those who abandoned her fold, at one time or another, for this cause or that sufficient unto themselves. On the one hand is a large group of Papists with whom at present we are not concerned, but on the other stand good men and true, men of our very bone and sinew who exult in a freedom from the alleged "formalism" of the Church, who yet are ready, with us, to oppose the world, the flesh, and the devil. . . . Have we not all sighed at the confused misunderstandings of His grace that keep us pitched in rival camps, spending much of our strength in vain and acrimonious controversy, when before us all lie the serried ranks of the philistine world led by the full panoplied Goliaths of sin, of indifference, and of contempt of His word and commandment.

Mr. Leverett Chase was speaking of the conditions as they exist in America, where "numerically we Anglicans are a feeble folk, mere conies among the rocks." In England they are the most numerous of the religious bodies, and the most influential, yet we know that his words are as applicable here, and represent the feelings which sadden and oppress devout minds, as they contemplate the fearful loss to religion which all this

¹ *Pan-Anglican Papers*, Sect. F. ii. (c.)

multiplication of sects occasions. Would there, for instance, be any danger such as at present threatens the faith and the purity of so many Christian children, if all Christians could only be brought to believe alike?

And that in missionary countries the evil is even more serious in its effects is witnessed in another Pan-Anglican paper, by the Rev. A. N. Banergii, examining chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta.

There is very special need of Christian unity in India. In the presence of its three hundred millions, only one per cent. of which is Christian to-day, the Church can ill afford the waste of energy and money necessarily caused by our unhappy divisions. But this is only a small part of the evil; in spite of the idea that non-Christians are accustomed to divisions in their own religions, Hindu, Mahomedan or otherwise, there is no doubt that the divisions of Christendom are a stumbling-block in the way of many. A religion which claims to be the one true universal religion, and which on that score demands the allegiance of all men, must demonstrate its superiority to other religions in every way; our unhappy divisions prove that in one important respect we cannot claim superiority.

India is a land of divisions and separations, caused by manifold diversities of race, language, religious beliefs, social customs, &c. In India peculiar rigid customs like caste and the seclusion of women impose insuperable barriers to social intercourse. We believe that in the Christian Church alone lies the force which is capable of removing these manifold separations, but such a force can hardly be put forth in its real vigour by a divided Church. India furnishes to-day the sad picture of a wide gulf separating the British dominant classes from the people of the country, and in her Christian community there are strongly marked divisions—the Europeans, the domiciled classes, and the children of the soil. In India, therefore, if anywhere, the Christian Church is called upon to exhibit that unity for which her Saviour prayed—such a unity as may portray and reflect on earth the perfect and absolute Oneness of the Godhead.

The infant community of Indian Christians eloquently appeals by its very feebleness for unity. The acceptance of the Faith has cut them off entirely from their kith and kin, and the true fellowship and brotherhood of the Catholic Church alone can compensate for this loss. Practically, however, they find that they belong to different bodies, which have little or no intercommunion, and that owing to differences in the Church they are precluded from joining in the highest act of Christian worship and communion with large numbers of their fellow-Christians and countrymen. Such separation, entirely due to the fact of their being brought into the fold by missionaries

belonging to different bodies, makes them feel all the more helpless and tends to create apathy and diffidence.

The small Indian Christian community finds itself separated into several distinct organizations, maintained, controlled, and worked by their foreign spiritual parents—the Missionary Societies of Europe, America, and Australia. These Societies cannot but propagate their distinctive and in some matters mutually contrary views, and their adherents naturally imbibe these views. No small proportion of the educated Indian Christians are in the employ of these Missionary Societies, and they are in duty bound to advocate their distinctive views. Indian Christians are necessarily poor, as the converts have been mainly drawn from the poorest classes, and well-to-do persons have had, on accepting the Faith, to give up everything. This poverty is a frequent source of weakness. In their feebleness and helplessness, we repeat, the infant Indian Christian community appeals for unity, as no greater misfortune could happen to it, since it would altogether cramp its development and growth, than the stereotyping and naturalizing of divisions which in many particulars do not appeal to them, though under the circumstances, they are obliged not only to tolerate but at times to try and justify them.

It is thus that the Indian mind is affected by the spectacle of these theological divisions, and we may be sure that similar perplexities are caused in China when we learn from Archdeacon Arthur Moule, of Mid-China, that “besides the missions of the Roman Church in all parts of China, and of the Greek Church in Peking, there are outside the Anglican Communion, representatives in China of more than eighty ‘other Christian bodies.’”

Such being the lamentable results of religious division, the Congress might have been expected to assign a foremost place to a discussion of the remedies. It can hardly be said to have done that, but at least a section was set apart for the consideration of “the Anglican Communion in its relation to other bodies.” In this section the following points were considered. “(1) Steps towards and obstacles to intercommunion with other ancient Churches on their side and on ours : (2) What more could be done? What are the dangers to be avoided : (3) How far is it possible and wise to open negotiations with particular Churches? (4) What are the necessary conditions for intercommunion in the case of individuals and in the case of Churches?” These are points which fairly cover the ground, and the last was particularly practical. Still it cannot, unfortunately, be said that the discussions threw any fresh light on an old subject, or raised

hopes of any solid results to follow. There was a disposition to lay down certain conditions as indispensable, yet which in the estimation of other Churches might be felt to foreclose the negotiations before they were started. "If the various Churches were to become one it must be on an English, not on a foreign or Roman basis." So said the Dean of Canterbury, and on that point at all events most were in agreement. But what was the English basis? Evidently that of Nationalism to which frequent references were made, the principle, namely that the Churches of the different nations must be allowed to hold themselves governmentally independent, but that in their creed and worship they must remain faithful to the essentials as our Lord had prescribed them. But what were these essentials? In the abstract almost all Churches would agree to this second stipulation, but in the concrete not only was this a question on which the greatest diversities of opinion prevailed, but it was just to these diversities of opinion, and the tenacity with which men adhered to them, that the breaches of communion throughout Christendom were all due. That however was a question on which the members of the Congress were not agreed, though all appeared to assume that the Anglican Church had in this respect hit the happy mean, and by so doing had acquired for itself a peculiar power of adaptability to the needs and temperaments of the different races and classes to be reunited. She was thus marked out by her constitution and her position in the world as the destined intermediary by whose efforts the scattered fragments would eventually be brought together.

Of course on these principles Reunion with the great Church in communion with the See of Rome was out of the question altogether, and they admitted it. Lord Halifax, indeed, protested against such an admission, and gave fervent expression to the hopes which we have learnt to associate with his name.

Every loyal member of the Congress [he said] should desire the renewal of communion with Rome. All must surely desire to hasten the day when, as members of one Church, they would be again united in the external bonds of one spiritual union. In insisting on the rights of the English Episcopate, had they done justice to the Apostolic See? They had need to face these and other questions, and to ask themselves why the principle of authority in spiritual matters had come to be so largely ignored in England.

But the general feeling was in accord with Canon Mason, who, in his preparatory paper, said :

At this moment Rome is better left alone. It is impossible for any one who recognizes the place of the Roman Church in the history of Christendom not to desire, however distantly, to see Rome so changed as to admit of the reconciliation of other Churches with her. She cannot be put out of the reckoning when there is talk of union. Christian statesmen will always have an eye to Rome, whatever schemes they have in hand. But union with her is not our first business. Many movements within her communion have our sympathetic interest. It is always possible for individuals among us to enter into relations with foreign Roman Catholics, to seek to dispel ignorance with regard to our own aims and principles, to do many things which may help, in God's providence, towards a *rapprochement* by and by ; but there would be nothing to gain by making overtures in present circumstances to the See of Rome. Influences prevail there which seem more adverse to bold and comprehensive views than for some time past. We can only bide our time.

Yes, on these principles Rome must certainly be let alone, both for the present and for all time. And yet we can well understand them feeling that she cannot be left out of the reckoning. In China, said the Bishop of Shanghai, in the Congress itself, "out of something more than a million Christians, some 900,000 were Roman Catholic. There were about 180,000 of all other Christian bodies, and out of that number only some 25,000 belonged to the Anglican communion." And in India, too, Rome has "the largest number of adherents," and Anglicanism "only a ninth part of the whole." Two striking facts which certainly do not support the theory that England's comprehensiveness rather than Rome's rigidity conveys the unique power to attract men of different races.

But if Rome was to be let alone for the present, to whom could they turn? Some thought that the prospect of future intercommunion with the ancient Churches of the East was more hopeful, but Archdeacon Dowling's preparatory paper, in which he brings together certain recent interchanges of mutual courtesy between Anglican clergy and Greek prelates, will strike most readers as showing, not on how solid, but on how slight a basis, this hope is founded. Nor was much stress laid on this aspect of the case. It was to the prospects or possibilities of Reunion between their own Church and the Nonconformist sects which had left it, and were in conflict with it at so many

points, that the eyes of the Congress were mainly directed. Why could not these be gathered back into the fold from which they had strayed? Were there not things now happening around them that worked in the direction of such a reconciliation? The spirit of Reunion was abroad in their ranks just as in those of the Anglicans themselves, and they were translating desire into action by schemes of co-operation and intercommunion among themselves. The union of the Free Church and the United Presbyterians in Scotland, and of the Free Church Council in England, were examples of this; and in America, too, "there is beginning to be noticed a *rapprochement* between the several dissenting or 'free' Churches." If they could thus reunite among themselves, could they not with the Mother Church from which they had broken off? It is true, this *rapprochement* did not commend itself to the judgment of Mr. Leverett Chase, who observed that it was the outcome of a "gradual levelling down . . . of those distinctive tenets, which were jealously held originally as such portions of the Catholic Faith which it seemed good to their respective founders to over-accentuate, and develop, and make known by sect-shibboleths." "It is from the commingling vapours of this new fraternalism," he remarked, "that the 'new theology' is born, and triumphantly shown to an applauding demos as the heir of the ages." Still, the only basis on which the Congress seemed to contemplate Reunion—the "English basis," as contradistinguished from the "Roman" basis—was precisely a basis of levelling down to the bare essentials of an orthodox faith, and the Anglican Church was not very exacting in her assignment of these essentials. Perhaps the following passage from the Dean of Westminster's impressive sermon at the Abbey on July 5 may be taken as stating what would be acceptable, not indeed to the extreme wing of the High Church party, but to the majority of those who formed the Congress:

We cannot abandon what we have hitherto declared to be the four essentials of our whole position—the Holy Scriptures, the two great Creeds, the two great Sacraments, and the historic Episcopate. But we can and ought to recognize that when the first three are found, and when there is also an ordered ministry guarded by the solemn imposition of hands—then our differences are not so much matters of faith as matters of discipline, and ought with humility and patience to be capable of adjustment. A fuller recognition on the one side of a charismatic ministry which God has plainly owned and blessed; a fuller

recognition on the other side of the permanent value of an Episcopate which has long ceased to be a prelacy ; a readiness on both sides to arrive at some temporary agreement which might ultimately issue in a common ministry, regular in the historic sense, though admitting the possibility of separate organizations and exempt jurisdictions—granted such recognition and such readiness, and what prospect of reconciliation at no distant future opens before us.

These are conditions which one might have thought would attract those to whom they are offered, and probably would were it that they attached importance only to creeds and methods, and no considerations concerning that important but indefinable element, the spirit of a corporate body, entered in. We must of course wait to see whether any dissentient bodies respond to the invitation, which after all has not yet been formally given. Still, we may doubt whether there will be much response, nor did the Congress express itself on the whole as very hopeful of any.

On the other hand, mention was made in one at least of the papers of a movement which, whether it should be considered accordant with or antagonistic to the "English basis" of National Churches, must be occasioning much anxiety to the Anglican missionary agencies. Mr. Banergii, in the paper from which we have already quoted, refers to it in the following terms :

The actual desire for unity on the part of Indian Christians has . . . given an impetus to an idea closely associated with unity, viz. that of a National Church. Certain practical steps towards the realization of such an idea are now being taken which must arrest the attention of all who look for a united Church of India. The "national impulse" which characterizes the India of to-day cannot but have affected the minds and hearts of Christian Indians . . . The Indian Christian Associations in all the Provinces are doing a good work, and their work, as well as such work as is connected with Young Men's Christian Associations, have brought together Indian Christians of different Church views and taught them the practical lesson that in union lies strength. All this has helped to foster the desire for Church unity. Signs are not wanting of a tendency to break away from missionary tutelage, and indigenous efforts are being made here and there to do evangelistic and other work. In Tinnevely a small society has been formed for work in the Telugu country. A wider movement on the undenominational basis was inaugurated last year under the name of the National Missionary Society. This venture has enlisted the sympathy of Indian Christians of various connexions and has further fostered the desire for a United and a National Church.

From what has already been said it will be easily understood that Christian Indians seem to be in quest of terms on which they may unite, and there is considerable danger lest they take some steps which in the long run may weaken rather than strengthen the cause of *true* Church unity. The remark has often been made by persons who are competent to form such a judgment that, should Missionary Societies withdraw their control, the Indian Christians connected with them would soon coalesce and discover a *modus vivendi et operandi*. There is good reason for thinking that such a united body would be found to be lacking in some of the elements which have in the purest ages of the Church been regarded as being of the highest value. There is a real danger that in the strong desire for union and co-operation, and in the rough and ready method of combining on the basis of giving up the distinctive features which separate one body from another, Indian Christians may arrive at a unity which is superficial and hollow—a unity, which though conceivably uniting a large body of them at present, is based on terms which may cut them off from all chance of union with the great historical communions of Christendom.

Some members of the Congress, realizing the barrenness of their present outlook, sought comfort rather in the persuasion that Reunion must come some day, if only they persisted in desiring it and working for it, submitting themselves humbly and patiently to the leading of the Holy Spirit. And here we can agree with them, and, so far as they will permit, hold out to them the hand of fraternal sympathy. Yes, it does seem certain that, if any class of Christians sincerely long for a restoration of unity, and pray for it and strive for it earnestly, our Lord, who prayed so earnestly that His followers might form "one fold under one shepherd," will sooner or later grant them their hearts' desire. And so, even if the recent Congress had been of no other use, at least it must be held to have done a valuable service in directing forcible attention to this all-important subject, and fostering desires which may be trusted to grow and fructify.

But may we, in no carping spirit but solely and sincerely with the wish to contribute to so grand an enterprize, make just one suggestion? Though it is so good to desire and pray, desire and prayer must be seconded by the endeavour to think out the subject, and surely it is important to form some very definite conceptions of what is to be striven for. There are only three possibilities in this matter of Reunion. Either unity must be surrendered for the sake of truth, or truth must be surrendered for the sake of unity, or there must be unity

in truth—truth here meaning what the reuniting bodies hold to be the truth. Of these possibilities the first is that which at present prevails in the Anglican community. They have not so far forth seen their way to unite with any other communions, because it has appeared to them that they could not do it without some surrender of truth. The second is that which some of the Nonconformist bodies are reproached for adopting in some of their recent amalgamations, which have been practically achieved on what is called an undenominational basis ; it is that also, we fear we must say, which prevails in the Anglican communion itself, so far forth as it tolerates in its members differences of belief so wide as those which divide Bishop Gore from Canon Hensley Henson, or Bishop Handley Moule from either of these. But few in the Congress would have accepted one or other of these two possibilities as satisfactory—still less as the realization of their aspirations after religious unity. They would have united in saying that the only unity which would fulfil their desires would be a unity in truth, a unity of communion in which all who knelt at the same altar and obeyed the same prelates, believed also in the same things, having the conscientious assurance that these, and these only, were taught by our Lord Jesus Christ. If once these seekers after unity could be brought to this definite conception, they would feel that the next step was to discover the method by which a unity of this kind was attainable. And here again three possibilities present themselves ; or perhaps we had better begin by saying two possibilities, though it will be seen that the second for our purpose subdivides itself. The first is the method which Dr. Rashdall in his preparatory paper calls the “religion of the spirit,” but which is more usually and simply called the religion of “private judgment.” “By saying that Christianity is a religion of the spirit,” he says, “I mean that it asserts that there is in the human mind a power of attaining to a knowledge of what is true in religion and ethics, and that it requires no individual to accept as coming from God that which does not commend itself to his own reason and conscience.” He goes on to explain that he does not deny that authority has also its function in the teaching of religious truth, but he contends that this function is subject to the same limits in matters of religion as in matters of science or history, that is to say, it is educative and provisional, the final right of appeal to the individual judgment—or conscience, as he would call it—

being always preserved. The other possibility is the method of authority, which he would prefer to call the method of "legalistic religions." It is, he says with approximate correctness,

A form of religion which supposes a code of rules regulating belief, worship, and life to have been at some time or other promulgated by a supernatural revelation, and which those who profess the religion are expected to accept simply and solely on authority—simply because it has been revealed to another person or persons—without any exercise of their own reason or conscience, without any criticism of the matters revealed, simply upon the testimony that the revelation has actually taken place.

Now when we compare these two religious methods in the light of such experience as the course of centuries has furnished, it is surely demonstrated that the first of them is essentially a method of disintegration, having always engendered division and progressive division, whilst the other, in proportion as it has prevailed, has secured unity. Be it observed we are not so far claiming anything exclusive for the Church in communion with the Holy See. There are other Churches which have held to the principle of authority, at least to some degree greater or less—such as the schismatic Churches of the East, and even, in their earlier days, some of the "reformed" Churches of the West, which at first held to the idea of revelation, and prescribed articles of religion to which all their members were to adhere. In all these, in proportion as the principle of authority was retained, a corresponding degree of unity was preserved. And this from the nature of the case, because all who conform to authority follow one rule of believing and worshipping. On the other hand, the principle of private judgment, however much one may dignify it by calling it the religion of the spirit, is essentially individualistic, and, as we all know, *quot homines tot sententiae*. Does it not follow, then—even if we should feel constrained to hold that it is the only sound principle to go by—that, if we go by it, we must expect divisions, and must surrender all hopes of a future reunion of parts now divided? Does it not follow that it is a vain hope to check or reverse the disintegrating process on the basis of distinguishing essentials from non-essentials, because there will always be differences, and progressive differences, in deciding what are to be regarded as essentials?

On the other hand, does it not follow that, if we want unity we must be prepared to submit to authority? Here, however, comes in the subdivision of the second possibility to which reference has been made. No one of us would have found a difficulty in submitting to the teaching authority of our Lord Himself, had He thought fit to remain on earth as a living and visible teacher in our midst, to whom we could refer all our difficulties and controversies for solution and definition. No one in such a case would have stipulated for the rights of the individual conscience to submit His teaching to its own tribunal for decision whether it was acceptable or otherwise. All would say, "My conscience binds me to accept the truth when I see it, and to reject all else; and when He speaks, His declaration is a far more secure standard of truth than the poor reasonings of my own personal faculty of judgment." This reflection clears the ground for us, for we can now see that, whereas submission to authority is the sole method which in religious matters makes for unity of belief, it matters much whether the authority to which we submit has been truly commissioned by our Lord Jesus Christ to represent Him or not. If the latter, we may attain to unity by our submission to it, but it will not be unity in truth, and as a method it will not be preferable to Dr. Rashdall's "method of the spirit," so that in that case we shall do best to fall back upon the standard of truth that is within us, as the only one we have. But if the authority that claims our submission is commissioned by Jesus Christ, and hence is guided and controlled by Him in its action, then we are as safe in submitting to it, and as safe in disregarding when opposed to its dictates the conclusions of our own fallible reason, as if we were listening to His own human voice. And so we come at last to this; at least this is the point we should like to press upon the attention of these seekers after Reunion. "*If* you want Reunion, does not all conspire to show that you must give up thoughts of Nationalism, which means individualism and spells division, and you must accept the 'Roman,' not the 'English basis'; and inquire whether the one authority on earth which even claims to have been appointed by Jesus Christ to represent Him as teacher and ruler of the world can show convincing credentials that she is justified in making this claim?" This, it may be said, is inviting them to take refuge in private judgment after all. Yes, but in regard to a matter which is far more

within its sphere than are matters of doctrine appertaining to the sublime mysteries of the faith. Still, we acknowledge that there may be difficulties found in the process, and all that we desire to suggest just at present is that, if this longing for Reunion is as sincere and earnest as we believe it to be, it should impel to a more thorough and unbiassed study of the claims of the Holy See than has been made so far by more than a very few of those who met together in Congress the other day. Whatever may be their difficulties about our *real* doctrines which tend to keep them apart from us, at least there is no reason why the breach should be widened by misconceptions about our doctrines which serious and unbiassed study would remove. And for this cause it is surely best, both for them and for us, whilst respecting in one another the actions to which our respective convictions lead, to emphasize our many points of agreement, not by sacramental intercommunion, which is impossible—but by cultivating the most cordial personal relations, in our public and private intercourse.

of the city of London, from the first settlement of the
 British nation in this island, to the present time. The
 first part of the history is divided into three periods, the
 first of which is the period of the British monarchy, the
 second of which is the period of the Saxon monarchy, and
 the third of which is the period of the Norman monarchy.
 The second part of the history is divided into three periods,
 the first of which is the period of the British monarchy,
 the second of which is the period of the Saxon monarchy,
 and the third of which is the period of the Norman monarchy.
 The third part of the history is divided into three periods,
 the first of which is the period of the British monarchy,
 the second of which is the period of the Saxon monarchy,
 and the third of which is the period of the Norman monarchy.
 The fourth part of the history is divided into three periods,
 the first of which is the period of the British monarchy,
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 and the third of which is the period of the Norman monarchy.

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Presbyterian Union in Scotland.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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Presbyterian Union in Scotland.

THE history of Scottish Presbyterianism has entered on an interesting phase. Rather more than two centuries ago, with the accession of William and Mary, the long struggle between Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism for the privileged position of an Established Church north of the Tweed, was finally decided in favour of the latter. An Act of Parliament of 1690 gave legal force to the mode of settlement on which the mass of the people were determined, the leading features of this settlement being that the ecclesiastical government should be Presbyterian in its character, with kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods, and a general assembly meeting in the spring of each year, as the constituent factors in its governing body; and that the Westminster Confession, with its uncompromising affirmation of Predestinarianism, should be its fundamental doctrinal formula. A supplementary Act of 1693 "for settling the quiet and peace of the Church," in other words, for making easy the path of readmission for the ousted Episcopalian ministers, fixed the formula of subscription for all who in future should seek admission to the ranks of the national ministry. This formula of subscription, which in its substance has subsisted to the present day, besides accepting the Presbyterian form of Church government and promising uniformity in worship, has the following doctrinal clause: "I declare the Confession of Faith approved by former General Assemblies of this Church, and ratified by law in the year 1690, to be the confession of my faith, and I own the doctrine therein contained to be the true doctrine which I will constantly adhere to." Four years later the "Barrier Act," whilst providing that "the Confession of Faith and Presbyterian Government shall continue without any alteration in this land in all succeeding ages," sought to "prevent even such changes of minor importance as the course of time might seem to require" from being introduced with insufficient consideration, and so enacted that any future Act of Parliament "to be binding on the Church must first come before the General Assembly as an overture, and thence be transmitted to the Presbyteries."

Such is the legal foundation on which the established form of Scottish Presbyterianism rests to this day, and on this basis, except for the few Catholics who were mostly in certain Highland districts and whose number was practically confined to a few of the Highland clans and the small body of outstanding Episcopalians, the Scottish people were, for the time being, united in their religious aspect. Quickly, however, after the accomplishment of this union, did the separative tendency, so inextricable from all human settlements, begin to manifest itself. The Scottish Church, though its ministers have always shown a very creditable dislike for lay intervention in spiritual matters, is, from the circumstances of its origin and constitution, the creation of the State just as much as the Established Church of England; and State supremacy means essentially a supremacy in the exercise of which lay interests preponderate over clerical. Accordingly as early as 1712 another Act of Parliament, this time of the United Kingdom, restored to the lay patrons the right of presentation to certain of the parochial benefices. It was a sad blow to the clergy, and caused their cleavage into two parties, the Moderates and the Evangelicals, the former of whom were prepared to tolerate, the latter to resist, a system which both of them disliked. By 1733 this dissension led to the schism of Ebenezer Erskine and his adherents, who formed themselves into the Associated Presbytery, and were commonly called the Seceders; and these shortly afterwards sub-divided into the Burghers and anti-Burghers, over the question of the lawfulness of taking the Oath of Allegiance required of the Burghers of Edinburgh and other cities.

Twenty years later, that is in 1752, another secession from the main body, likewise on this ground of opposition to lay patronage, led to the formation of the Presbytery of Relief. The Burghers and anti-Burghers, however, reunited again in 1820, and in 1847 further coalesced with the Presbytery of Relief, the result being a community which became known as the United Presbyterians. On the other hand in the first half of the nineteenth century another crisis was provoked in the Established Church by a recrudescence on the part of the lay-patrons of the exercise of their right of presentation, a right which they had allowed to fall somewhat into abeyance. The General Assembly in 1833 had passed a Veto Act authorizing congregations to reject the presentee of the lay-patron, if in any case he were personally distasteful to

them. The validity of this Veto Act was brought to the test by the Auchterarder case, in which a presentee, thus rejected by his congregation, appealed to the civil courts and obtained a recognition of his claim. As the Moderates in the Assembly of 1843 were prepared to tolerate even this, an immense secession, under the leadership of the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, took away from the Established Church more than a third of its clergy with their adherents. This event is known as the Disruption, and the Disruption Church was called the Free Church.

This is the severest blow Scottish Presbyterianism has experienced, but it is also the last. As has been said, shortly after the Disruption the reunion took place which created the United Presbyterians, and the other day, in the first year of the present century, was accomplished the much more important union between these United Presbyterians and the Free Church. Our readers will recollect the sensation caused when the "Wee Free," that is, the comparatively small fraction of the Free Church which stood out against this latter reunion, claimed for themselves, as the sole observers of the original title-deeds of their Church, the whole of its endowments, and, moreover, obtained on appeal a recognition of their claim by a judgment of the House of Lords. However, Mr. Balfour's Act of 1905 overrode this judgment, and enforced a division of the funds *pro rata*, according to the number of the parishes on either side. Thus was constituted the United Free Church, as it has since been called.

One can understand that the spectacle of a reunion thus successfully consummated between two religious bodies for long estranged should have suggested the possibility of carrying the movement for reconciliation further still. Why should not this United Free Church be reconciled with the Established Church, all the more as, by an Act of the Parliament of 1874, the right of lay patronage, which had been the original cause of their separation, had been altogether abolished? And for the last few years negotiations have been going on between representatives of the two sides with such encouraging results that at the General Assemblies of the two Churches, held this year simultaneously, each Church passed a unanimous vote in favour of fusion. This is not final, for a constitution has to be framed, and accepted, not only by the General Assemblies but by the majority of the Presbyteries of both Churches, before the final act can close the schism. Still it means that

an atmosphere favourable to the settlement of these matters of detail has been generated, and that in itself is an appreciable advance towards reconciliation. No wonder, then, that the hearts of those affected were deeply moved. Nor can we who look on from the outside—with the consciousness that it is a question of blending communions, both of which are indeed without part in the great Church of the ages, but both of which comprise many earnest minds who are with us at least in the desire to be faithful to Christ's teaching—regard such a consummation otherwise than with a true sympathy, witnessing as it does, and giving encouragement, to the growing sense among the heirs of the Reformation movement, that religious division is a scandal which all true followers of Christ should strive their utmost to remove.

At the same time it is impossible to read the discussions held last May in the General Assemblies of the two Churches thus anxious to coalesce, without perceiving that the framing of a constitution which will satisfy both sides is likely to prove a very difficult matter. Each side is cordial in its recognition of the frankness with which it has been met by the other, and the manifestations of fraternal feeling on both sides are striking. There is, however, a variance of opinion on a point which they unite in considering essential, and the question is whether this can be effectually arranged for. It is not so much, indeed it is not at all, a question of compromise in which each side is prepared to concede something to the other; it is rather a question of the United Free Church laying down conditions which, if there is to be union, the Established Church must accept; and of the Established Church declaring its readiness to concede a great deal, not from motives of conviction but out of regard for the sentiments of the United Free Church, and yet unable to concede the whole without incurring the most far-reaching sacrifices.

Three points [said Dr. Wallace Williamson, Moderator of the Established Church and leader of the enthusiasts for reunion]¹ stand out in this great work in which we are engaged. The question of the spiritual freedom of the Church within its own proper spiritual domain—that is the first and the most vital. The second, hardly less vital to us as loyal ministers of the Church of Scotland, is the question of the national recognition of re-

¹ All quotations from the acts of the two Assemblies are taken from the reports in the *Scotsman*.

ligion—and the maintenance of the national character of the Church. And the third, the question of the ancient endowments of the Church.

By “spiritual freedom” they mean on both sides that the reunited Church shall not be liable to State intervention overruling any of its administrative acts—as by revising, as of superior right, its appointments to benefices, or its removal of offending or distasteful ministers, or its modifications or alterations of its constitutions, or its creed or formulas. By “national recognition of religion” the Church of Scotland means the privilege of establishment, as involving that the State recognizes the religion established to be the religion of the nation, with the right that its ministrations shall be those employed in all public acts of a religious nature. The question of the endowments possessed by the Church of Scotland comes in because, were that Church to apply to Parliament for statutory recognition of a new constitution, framed so as effectually to secure its spiritual freedom in the estimation even of the United Free Church, Parliament would probably claim to take from it all its endowments, as national property to the use of which it was no longer entitled.

One can imagine from this how difficult is the situation which confronts the reunionists. The Church of Scotland—if we may take its mind as expressed by its Reunion Committee—fully accepts the position that spiritual freedom is essential, and is apparently ready to revise its constitution in a way satisfactory to the Free Church, and even to surrender its rich endowments should Parliament exact this as the condition for conceding to it spiritual liberty. Nevertheless, it is of opinion that, to quote again from Dr. Wallace Williamson’s great speech on May 27th, it “can see a way by which full effect can be given to the ideals of our brethren on the other side in regard to the practical exercise of the inherent spiritual liberty of the Church, and also full effect at the same time to our own cherished idea of the national and representative character of the Church.” This is the view taken by the Church of Scotland Committee, but it seems somewhat over-sanguine in anticipating that Parliament will concede so readily what they desire, nor does the United Free Church Committee appear to share their confidence in this respect—though, if Dr. Henderson’s view is accepted by his brethren, the United Free Church would be prepared, should

the Established Church succeed in their application to Parliament, to receive them, as sufficiently emancipated from State servitude, into the Union.

This is how matters stand at present, but at the Assemblies both sides felt that, before they could go any further, they must have in their hands the full text of the proposed new constitution of the Church of Scotland. Accordingly they re-appointed their respective Committees, the one to prepare a draft of the new constitutions and the other to discuss with it the points in the draft submitted to them which its own Church would be likely to approve or reject, each Committee to report results to its Assembly next year.

Not then till next Spring, at the earliest, can we know for certain if the desired union of the two Churches is destined to come off. Meanwhile, if there are those, like Dr. Wallace Williamson and Dr. Henderson, who are confident it will, there are others, in both camps, who are much more sceptical, and these latter can point to tendencies which seem to justify them. Dr. Williamson and Dr. Henderson, though men of influence in their respective Churches, cannot speak in the name of these Churches, and it appears that the general body of those who constitute their membership take a very insufficient interest in this reunion question. Yet it is they, as represented by the Presbyteries, who, under the operation of the Barrier Act, will have to decide in the last resort whether there is to be reunion or not. Will then the Presbyteries of the Church of Scotland take the same generous view as Dr. Wallace Williamson and Dr. Henderson, who are confident endowments will not block progress along the path to reunion," or will they consider that the loss of their present endowments, a loss which would necessarily press more heavily on the struggling country ministers than on the ministers of rich town parishes, is a thing that cannot be tolerated? And on the other hand, what course in respect to these endowments will the Presbyterian laity take, seeing that they go indifferently to one kind of church or another, not finding any appreciable difference between them, but resent very much the demand on their purses to keep up two sets of Churches when one should be sufficient. These are the chief among the many cross-currents of opinion that prevail, and it is hard indeed for an outsider to predict what will be the ultimate effect of their interaction. And then there is another thing to be considered. Even if, by some corporate action, the

leaders of these Churches carry the cause of reunion safely through all its difficulties, will it be possible, in view of the unmitigated individualism which is becoming more and more the characteristic of these Churches of private judgment, to translate the union from an agreement between the leaders into a practical reality? The reunion between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians, indeed even the more remote reunion between the Secessionists and the Church of Relief, still have unpleasant experiences that attest the endurance of centrifugal tendencies. An illustration of this was afforded by a discussion held in the United Free Church Assembly of last May, which was reported in *The Scotsman* of May 26th. An effect of the recent union of the United Presbyterians with the Free Church to form the now United Free Church was the endeavour to amalgamate the congregations of these two Churches throughout Scotland, but this has not proved a very simple task. As the Rev. James Harvey, of Edinburgh, in submitting the Report of their General Interests Committee, stated:

During the year they had only been able to effect five unions, yet they had been trying to carry through union in a considerable number of other places. In some cases they had evidently failed, but in some cases they still nourished hope that union would be effected in a very short time. The first difficulty they had to contend with was sectional prejudice on the part of old Free Church or United Presbyterian congregations, or what they found still surviving from old United Presbyterian congregations, the old Relief prejudice, and the old Secession prejudice. They had found it sometimes more difficult to unite the former United Presbyterian congregations that represented their old sections, than to unite old Free Church and United Presbyterian congregations, and to his mind that was a standing argument than their Union of 1900 had been a much more radical and thorough-going one than even the Union of 1837 with regard to their United Presbyterian Church. There were forty good cases for union and readjustment which remained to be tackled by the General Interests Committee, cases where it would be for the consolidation of the Church's work and the sweetening of its life. They had brought about 111 unions, but they had at least forty before them.

To have brought about 111 unions may seem, and may be, a satisfactory achievement; but after hearing of this survival of sectional prejudices, one wonders if even these unions accomplished are destined to be stable.

But whatever may be the prospects of this present religious movement in Scotland, it is impossible to regard it as a reunion movement, in the sense of a return to St. Paul's ideal of Church Unity, in "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." It is at best an attempt to restore unity of government and communion; indeed it is an attempt to secure these, not with and through unity of faith, but rather over the grave of unity of faith.

On May 26th, at a meeting of the Free (not the United Free) Church, Professor John Macleod read the Claim of Right Report of that Church, in which came the following allusion to the negotiations for union between the two Churches of which we have been speaking:

If union should be brought about there could be no doubt that, in view of the unsatisfactory state of things in the United Free Church and in the present Establishment, the formula of subscription in the projected Church would be a Latitudinarian formula. It would pledge the office-bearers of the Church, if it pledged anything at all, to that most illusory thing, an undefined substance. They might take it that in the present state of theological flux there would be no attempt to secure fixity of doctrinal constitution. The absence of a subscription left the door open for the entrance into the pulpit of men who did not hold the faith. It was only by a general revival of spiritual religion and humble acceptance of the Old Testament Scriptures in the same sense in which our Lord and His Apostles accepted them, and as the Apostles intended that they should be accepted; it was only with such a state of things that there could be such a tone of public sentiment in the Church as would make it at all feasible that the Claim of Rights of the Church of the Disruption [that is, the contention for which the Disruption Church of 1843 fought] might be granted in the days to come.

These are the words of hostile critics, but they are refreshing in their clearness, and they do but state what in more obscure and guarded terms the two Moderators of the negotiating Churches acknowledged in their closing addresses. Thus Dr. Wallace Williamson, whilst complaining that "the note of spiritual urgency had largely disappeared from contemporary preaching," and estimating the influences to which this loss was due, thought that none had been more serious than "the note of uncertainty which had invaded it from the side of criticism." Consider the following passage:

Among other influences at work, none perhaps had more seriously affected the spiritual power of preaching in modern times than the note of uncertainty which had invaded it from the side of criticism. They had been passing through a period of transition, which he firmly believed would leave more gain than loss, and would issue in a clearer and healthier intellectual atmosphere; but the time had been long and trying, nor was it yet at an end. Indeed it was a vain illusion to hope for an end at all, if they meant by this that the imperative need should be no longer known to readjust their human opinions to increase of knowledge and clearer light, in the realm of divine truth. Should the Church refuse to face new problems, either on the intellectual or the moral side, there was nothing for her but intellectual atrophy and spiritual decay. It was futile to erect barricades against truth, and no encyclicals which any mortal man could issue could stay its inevitable course. They must keep themselves awake to all new stirrings of the Spirit, and never be forgetful of the promise of our Lord, "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of Truth is come, He will guide you into all truth." It was this guiding of the Spirit which, he earnestly believed, especially marked so-called times of transition. Doubtless they were times of trial and testing. . . .

At least it was unquestionably clear that, apart from definite dogmatic pronouncements, there had often been a steady but almost unnoticed and unpremeditated departure from positions which the soul of the Church had imperceptibly but definitely rejected. In consequence, what might have seemed to one age an eternal principle gradually fell into abeyance, or took its place in a truer perspective. How otherwise could they explain the change in the general attitude of mind towards portentous systems which once dominated human thought and overawed the religious spirit? In the progress of the spiritual life they had been passed by, and men looked back upon them to behold only "frowning fortresses" long since "silently abandoned." He could not doubt that the critical transition would have a similar outcome, inasmuch as a saner attitude towards the Christian scriptures would be its gift to the Church of the future.

It was not, however, to be denied that in the meantime perplexity and unsettlement were among the immediate results. As a consequence there had been noticeable a growing vagueness and hesitancy in the assertion of spiritual truth. The literalism of a past age having become impossible, men had experienced serious difficulties in adapting themselves to new attitudes and changed points of view. The danger was perhaps similar to that incurred in the struggle with Pelagianism, and men were

tempted "to take a broad step backwards towards a naturalism superficially embellished with Christian terms, and devoid of some essential elements of Christian thought." Signs were not wanting that this had been one result of the critical agitation which had marked the present generation. He did not believe it to be a necessary result. The critical movement itself had been a real necessity, inevitable indeed, if the self-respect, not to say the intelligent faith, of the Church were to be maintained.

Dr. Williamson's words are embedded in a text which strives to make the best of an anxious situation, but this is how he was understood by the leader-writer in *The Scotsman* for May 31st:

The closing addresses of the Moderators were worthy of a great occasion. They were charged with a deep spirituality. But they also touched, with sense as well as fervour, on practical questions of the day, interesting not only to the Church, but to the world. In pleading to willing ears on behalf of the paramount claims of "the divine mission of the Church," Dr. Williamson was careful to point out that religion also must abide the test of its effects on the progress and betterment of mankind. . . . He sees, as does Dr. Iverach, part of the danger of the Church in a period of transition—a period of probing and questioning, and of rejecting as no longer tenable grounds of faith and belief which were at one time held to be of adamant strength and security. It is a time when, in theology as in other departments of knowledge, what the Moderator of the United Free Church calls "fluid concepts" are taking the place of the "fixed, unchangeable terms" of the past.

Touching on the same critical theme, Dr. Williamson reminded the Church that "what seemed to one age an eternal principle gradually fell into abeyance, or took its place in a truer perspective." . . .

The Church has in previous ages experienced periods of perplexity and unrest like that which is at present unsettling many minds, and causing even preachers to "lose their bearings," and it will doubtless encounter others. But it has no reason to fear the ordeal so long as it is true to its duty. The lesson seems to be to avoid taking up too crudely dogmatic a position on the problems either of this life or of the next; and, as is illustrated by recent events in the history of the Scottish Churches, to avoid "the risk and danger to spiritual life of allowing ecclesiastical theory to take the place of manifest fact, and to raise admittedly secondary questions to the level of eternal principles of the faith."

The Churches may feel assured that they are on firm and safe ground in seeking to cultivate among themselves the spirit of unity and charity, and in abandoning the "unprofitable rivalries which dissipate their energies" at a time when there is special need of concentration—in putting an end to the scandal of a state of things of which it can be said that "where churches are most needed they are conspicuous by their absence, and where they are least needed, they are often too conspicuous by their presence."

It was not indeed to be expected that in gatherings at which the two Churches were negotiating for a reconciliation between themselves the note of underlying doctrinal division should be sounded over-loud, but if it were necessary to labour a point which is generally admitted, a reference to the papers and discussions of the Aberdeen meeting of the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance, held in the third week of June, only a few weeks after those of the Edinburgh Assemblies, will supply ample evidence of the extent to which modern Presbyterianism has departed from the doctrinal code of its former generations as embodied in the Westminster Confession adopted in 1690, and declared by the Barrier Act of 1694 to be "the Confession of Faith" that "shall continue without alteration in this land in all succeeding ages."

Dr. David James Burrell, the President of the Aberdeen gathering, is apparently an old-fashioned Evangelical, whose own creed is in conformity with the Westminster Confession, but his opening address of June 18th was a lamentation.

It is obvious [he said¹] that something is wrong. The attendance at many of our churches has fallen off. The bell rings and the people pass by. . . . Doves are not flocking to our windows as in former years; fewer showers of blessing, fewer conversions. And there is a lack of candidates for the ministry. . . . What is the difficulty and where shall we locate it? . . . There is nothing wrong with Christ. . . . Nor is there anything wrong with the Gospel. . . . Nor is there anything wrong with the constitution of the Church. . . . Many of its parishes have been derailed and the whole Church suffers by reason of it . . .

Are our seminaries at fault? It is an open secret that there are instructors in so-called "evangelical" schools of theology who are totally out of accord with the Evangel. What is to be

¹ *Aberdeen Free Press*, June 19th. All citations from this Conference are taken from that journal.

expected under such circumstances? If the teachers in our military academy at West Point in America were known to be disloyal to the Government and were nevertheless permitted to go on denying the fundamental principles of the Republic and instructing the cadets that patriotism is a 'lost art, would the young men of the country, think you, go flocking into the army? If it be true, as some of our theological teachers are saying, that there is no ultimate authority in the Word of God, and therefore no sufficient ground for believing that Christ was any better than a common man, what becomes of the call to the ministry? Othello's occupation's gone. No thoughtful youth could be expected to consecrate his life to a profession where there is nothing doing. If there is no sin and therefore no danger, no omnipotent Christ, and therefore no salvation, our vocation is reduced to nil and can offer no attractions to earnest young men.

The fact is that the Church has been largely diverted from the business in hand. The business is Evangelism, that is—the holding up of Christ and His Gospel for the salvation of sinful men. In many cases there has been a turning aside from the Evangel into the multitudinous forms of so-called "New Thought." Ring out the old, ring in the new! New Theology! New Ethics! Babism, Hinduism, Theosophy! Anything but the old-time religion! The Athenians are abroad in the land, "spending their time in nothing else but to hear or tell some new thing." The zeitgeist, or "spirit of the age" is exploited at the expense of the Spirit of God. Others have turned aside from the Evangel into the discussion of problems which properly belong to the kindergarten of faith, such as the personality of God, the Divinity of Christ, the power of the Cross and the reality of the Resurrection in which life and immortality are brought to light. The Apostle to the Hebrews spoke of "leaving the principles of the Gospel of Christ and going on unto perfection." But with many there are no such "principles," there are no axioms, no postulates. Everything is in the air.

Dr. Burrell was from New York City, and described directly the signs of the times in his own country, but the *Aberdeen Free Press*, in its leading article on June 21st, commenting on his address, and speaking from the standpoint of Scottish Presbyterianism, recognized that "the popular revolt against the Churches is as much a sign of the times in Great Britain as in America," and appeared to rejoice in it, ascribing it as mainly due "to the use of outworn formulæ that research and criticism have made ridiculous," in other words, to the attempts to insist on faithful adherence to the ancient standards of belief,

Dr. Curtis of Aberdeen was another who, at this Pan-Presbyterian gathering, bore testimony to the breaking away of multitudes of his co-religionists from the fetters of their former Confessional standards.

Presbyterianism was the mother of a brood of Confessions so numerous that she might be forgiven if, like another famous mother who lived in a shoe that pinched at times, she did not know what to do with her family. As Presbyterians, however, they had a special reason for discussing the value of Confessions. The elaborateness of their standards had made them peculiarly liable to disintegration by the hand of time. But to be dogmatic to-day about many particulars was to court correction and disrepute to-morrow. To form a true estimate of the value of Confessions of Faith they must acknowledge their service and their disservice impartially. They were landmarks of theological thought and learning. They reminded them that there were mass movements in doctrinal conviction not less than in spiritual experience, and they corrected a tendency they moderns had to allow the fascination of single outstanding personalities to blind them to the slower evolutions of the rank and file. Confessions of faith had a value for religious life. . . The Bible was found too wide-meshed a net for discipline. Confessions were of closer texture, and could be trusted to separate a finer orthodoxy. Yet few would say that their Confessions could ever be too Scriptural. The closer they clung to Holy Writ in spirit, in tone, and language, in comprehensiveness, and in devout simplicity, the more they valued and loved them.

It was all very well to say that if a man no longer held the Confession in its entirety he could resign and go. Could he? It might be his religious duty to shun schism and to stay, though he was deemed a troubler of Israel. Could they afford to let him go? They could not muzzle their preachers and still call them prophetic men. Confessions were ill served by those who read them narrowly. Let them view them historically and they would honour them.

A discussion at this same Aberdeen Conference, on "Authority in matters of Faith," casts light on this process of doctrinal disintegration by reminding us of its ultimate cause. For this discussion, based on papers by Principal Scrimger of Montreal, on "the Authority in matters of Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ"; by Professor Stewart of St. Andrews, on "the Authority of the Holy Scriptures"; and by Dr. C. M. Steffens on "the Authority of Christian Experience," reduced the first two practically to the last.

Thus Dr. Scrimger said:

To give His divinity as a reason for the authority of our Lord's teaching was to argue in a circle. . . . His words were accepted as true not because He said them, but because they perceived their truth in themselves; in the fullest sense a thing could be true for the individual, only if he perceived it to be true, and verified in his own experience. His judgment would have value in proportion to his own sincerity and disinterestedness, and he would be confirmed in his conclusions if he found that a multitude of others in whose sincerity and open-mindedness he had full confidence agreed with him in their estimate. That must be the genesis and natural history of the conviction that what Jesus Christ taught was true.

Similarly Professor Stewart said: "When they asked why authority was ascribed to Scripture many answers might be given; that of the result of Christian experience was perhaps the most widely accepted, and on the whole the most satisfactory." And in the same sense Dr. Steffens maintained that "religious experience tested, interpreted, verified, and enriched the religious dogma. Dogma in turn furnished the objective standards in terms of which experience was evaluated. . . . The ultimate vindication of the truth of Christianity was in the product of the new man."

This is a species of religious phraseology with which readers of the present age are familiar, but it is somewhat misleading. "Spiritual experience" is only another name for private judgment, or, to speak more accurately, the interpretation put upon spiritual experience by private judgment; and the whole question is as to the correctness of this private interpretation. It may be urged, as it has been urged by Dr. Scrimger, that its correctness is made manifest by its accordance with the similar spiritual experience of many others. But how is this to be understood? Granted that the experience of one Presbyterian accords with the similar experience of many other Presbyterians. Still is this enough when restricted to beliefs which, if shared by other Presbyterians, are not attested but are even rejected by the spiritual experiences of adherents of other denominations; for instance by that of the Catholics who, in the name of their multitudinous adherents, could say with intimate conviction that their spiritual experience does not attest, as being the new life in its perfection, a spiritual life not nourished by true sacra-

ments? On the other hand would not those who claim to have a deep spiritual experience—though they disbelieve in the miracles of Christ, or His divinity, or even in a personal, as distinct from a pantheistic, God—dispute the right of orthodox Presbyterians to claim spiritual experience as attesting their own doctrinal beliefs, or as alone defining the exact area of religious truth? In other words, if it be conceded that personal spiritual experience, when confirmed by that of multitudes of others, does guarantee the truth of an extremely vague substratum of belief, how can it serve as a test of the truth of any particular doctrine, such as that of the Atonement of Christ, or enable a Church organization to stipulate for the common confession of the same creed among its ministers or laity? In short, if spiritual experience of this sort is to be the ultimate test of doctrine, are we not driven to the acknowledgment that St. Paul's ideal of "one faith, one baptism," or our Lord's "that all may be one, as the Son is one with the Father, that the world may know that Thou hast sent me," is an ideal altogether unattainable?

And that this is so, Dr. Wallace Williamson seems to perceive, as another passage in his Closing Address at Edinburgh testifies:

He would not discuss there the far-reaching problem of the restoration of the broken unity of Christendom. It might be true that "we shall none of us live to see the torn robe of Christ sewn together again." They must strive more and more to recognize under varying forms the identity of the Christian spirit. Union would never again be the result of mere external compulsion. Nor did there seem any likelihood that authority would ever again be concentrated for Christendom in one infallible human voice. The only way open, therefore, was the way of conciliation and comprehension, and amidst diversities of operation to recognize a unity of spirit and of common aims. It was surely possible to realize the corporate character of the Church, and the divine significance of the Christian sacraments, without ignoring the law of Christian charity or forgetting that the whole flock of Christ was not yet, if it ever should be, in one fold. They had all to remember the risk and danger to spiritual life of allowing ecclesiastical theory to take the place of manifest fact, and to raise admittedly secondary questions to the level of eternal principles of the faith.

Still St. Paul's words, and our Lord's words, remain; and, by remaining, surely testify that there is a method, in

conformity with the exigencies of the human mind, by which the ideal they set before us can be attained. The great Church too—which even now retains in its fold more millions than all the Protestant denominations put together, and retained in it also the ancestors of all these Protestants for many more centuries of existence than Protestantism can since number—is there to show how this same ideal can be attained. May we put it then to these Presbyterian reunionists, Is not this method, which can retain so many millions of every class and race, of every degree of intelligence, probity, and piety, in the bonds of a unity so astonishing, a method worthy of serious study by all who crave for the continued fulfilment of our Lord's prayer? That Dr. Wallace Williamson has not so studied it yet is manifest, for he sets it down as "the result of mere external compulsion." No, it is not that; it never was that; it never could be that. How could a communion so vast, ruled over by one feeble old man, with the arms of flesh arrayed almost entirely against him and them, be kept together by external compulsion? Internal compulsion would be a better word. The method is simple enough. It is the method of authority, of submission to the teaching of an authority which is recognized as worthy to receive submission by minds set on truth alone, because of their conviction that it can give them a guarantee of truth better than their own private judgment can offer, because it is the voice not of a mere man, but of a divine tradition guarded by one who is himself under a promised divine guidance. It is not for us to justify this doctrine of Church authority here. It is enough to claim that either this doctrine is true, or our Lord Jesus Christ made no provision for securing that unity, in truth as in communion, for which He prayed so earnestly; and to press the practical conclusion just pointed, that at least the Catholic position is worthy of that serious study which it seldom receives even from those who long so much for reunion.

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The Free Church Council Meeting.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

Reprinted from "The Month," April, 1909.

THE HISTORY OF THE

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The Free Church Council Meeting.

IN the early summer of last year the Pan-Anglican Congress was held in London ; in the autumn following we held our Eucharistic Congress ; and in the second week of last month, a Conference of the Free Church Council was held at Swansea. The first two of these gatherings being international were on a vastly grander scale than the last-named, still they may reasonably be classed together as three nearly simultaneous Congresses, representative of the three main divisions of religious belief in the country. When men of like feeling meet together in impressive numbers, their emotions are stimulated, and they exhibit as it were in a magnified form the special spirit which characterizes them. We have then in the three Congresses an opportunity of comparing and contrasting the spirits which animate the Anglican, the Catholic, and the Nonconformist bodies.

We may be thought biassed witnesses if we claim for the Eucharistic Congress that its spirit was throughout a spirit of love and charity towards all men. Yet that undoubtedly was a feature in the Congress which impressed not only those who took part in it, but numbers of outside observers as well. Its members were indeed as exclusive in one sense as Catholics always must be, for they do not believe in the absurdity that one religion is as good as another, and have embraced the Catholic religion, often at the cost of the severest sacrifices, in the conviction that it bears on its face the clearest signs that it, and it only, is the religion established by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself. But in another sense there is no limit to Catholic inclusiveness, for wherever Catholics find human hearts aspiring after the good and the true, particularly wherever they find hearts solicitous to love and serve our Lord Jesus Christ, it is natural to them, and delightful to them, to recognize and claim a moral and spiritual kinship. And this

spirit, without being in any way formally prescribed, by a common instinct pervaded all the meetings of the Congress. There were frequent acknowledgments of the tolerance and friendliness shown them by the English people and its rulers. The sermons, speeches, discussions, and resolutions, bore almost exclusively on the means of deepening the spiritual life in clergy and people. The controversial note was unheard throughout, even the discussion on the King's Declaration taking the form of an appeal to the English people to have courage to do away with an outrage which they themselves, at least the great mass of them, deplored as not less superfluous than it is uncharitable. It is true there was a note of discord towards the end over the character of the Procession. But there the provocation came from without, and originated in the threats of some unscrupulous bigots to make the carrying of the Sacred Host an occasion for sacrilege; besides it was met by the Catholic Archbishop and his people with a dignity and self-restraint that won general admiration.

In the Pan-Anglican gathering the same spirit of charity towards all men was conspicuous. To others, as to ourselves, some of their ideals have appeared impracticable because based on the unsound principles essential to the Anglican position. But it was impossible not to be deeply and sympathetically impressed by the spectacle of so many earnest men from all parts concordant in the desire to make God known to men of all races, and to spend their lives in the endeavour; passionately anxious, too, to work, according to their lights and opportunities, to remove the foul scandal of Christian disunion. Their references, moreover, to those separated from them, or in disagreement with them, were throughout courteous and friendly; were, in short, those of Christian gentlemen.

It would be pleasant were it possible to speak in like terms of the Nonconformist gathering at Swansea. Of multitudes of Nonconformist ministers and laymen throughout the kingdom it is easy so to speak. Their lives are most edifying, their piety worthy of all praise. Oftentimes we can recognize this, and do gladly recognize it, even in those who are prejudiced against us by the mendacious literature which circulates among them; especially in those among them who, their prejudices against our doctrines notwithstanding, are so genial and charitable in their dealings with us. But the Free Church Council people appear to be of quite another sort. Indeed, so great is the

divergence, if one is to judge of the recent Congress from the newspaper reports of it, that we feel it a duty to modify somewhat the words with which this article commenced, and to accept the Swansea meeting as representative not of Nonconformity generally, but of a particular type of it which is unhappily seeking to acquire a dominative influence over the whole body.

The Free Church Council was, we believe, first instituted in 1893. Its idea was to remove in some degree the reproach of Nonconformist divisions by emphasizing the points about which the various sects were agreed, and on this basis giving them a common organization which they could use for the furtherance of the spiritual objects they were united in desiring. The National Council is formed of members elected not denominationally but territorially (so as "to avoid sectarian distinction and avoid the possibility of committing separate Churches to any particular policy") by the Local Councils; and an Executive Committee, elected by the National Council at the annual Congress, is entrusted with the administration of the whole organism. Had the Free Church Council been faithful to this original idea of a step towards reunion, its career would have been worthy of general sympathy. But one of the objects stated in the *prospectus* was "to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of life," and this object, in itself suitable enough, was quickly interpreted to mean that the Council would "take concerted action on questions affecting their common interests, as bearing on the social, moral, and religious welfare of the people." That raised the suspicions of Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, a leading Nonconformist personality at that time. He was conscious of the political propensities of some of his brethren, and judged that any such organization for concerted political action must result in "transforming the Free Church Councils into political and municipal caucuses." Accordingly, as his colleagues persisted in their scheme, he found it necessary to dissociate himself from their movement altogether. The result has shown that his anticipations were well-founded, and there is a growing dissatisfaction among the more spiritually-minded Nonconformists at the turn things are taking among them. A book that has just appeared under the title of *Nonconformity and Politics*, by a "Nonconformist Minister," has given forcible expression to this feeling of dissatisfaction. Viewed from a literary standpoint, it is not a well-written

book. The writer repeats himself *ad nauseam*, yet without being able clearly to grasp and express his thought. Still, if the style be condoned, the testimony is valuable, for it shows how a really earnest man, though dominated by all the prejudices and narrow-mindedness common among his sort, chafes under the prevailing scandal.

For its devotion to political affairs [he writes] and its neglect of the eternal interests committed to its charge, Nonconformity must pay—and is, whether it realize the fact or not, paying heavily to-day. Underneath all the loud-tongued voices through which Nonconformity contributes its share to the political discussions of the time . . . there is going on a process of weakening and decay whereby Nonconformity is losing both love for its proper work and capability for doing it. . . . And Nonconformity, in its awakening, must surely flush with shame to think that, while for many a year it has been making numerous and ardent politicians, it has made scarcely any saints. For this is the brief and accurate summing-up of the situation—and its bitter irony too. . . .

As soon as he has entered, a Church member is reckoned upon as one who will support any political resolution that may be brought forward, and who, being inspired by the "Nonconformist conscience," will assuredly take the dominant Nonconformist political line. And all over the country (the writer speaks those things which he has heard and seen) there are those who, having once belonged to some Nonconformist church, have dropped out of membership because their political opinions have made a real severance between them and their fellows in the house of prayer. . . .

The minister who, remembering the one object for which all Churches exist, seeks to devote himself to it, is looked upon askance, as the present writer knows full well. There is hardly any place for such a man in the Nonconformity of to-day. . . . The men whom the Churches most care to hear now—the men whom the official representatives of the various denominations most delight to honour—are the men who speak most loudly upon the current political topics, and who (if it may be said without disrespect) "play to the gallery," and echoing the gallery's political watchwords, rouse the gallery to re-echo them in its turn. . . . Nonconformity turns only with something of an effort—and with an effort it cannot help betraying in measure to any soul of real sensitiveness—to directly spiritual ministries. It is not with these—and one recognizes the fact even while Nonconformist services are endeavouring to embody them and give them force—that Nonconformity is most at home. . . . The spiritual temperature has gone down by many degrees. The forces that make for saintliness are not at work—only pale *simulacra* of them.

On the very eve of the Swansea Congress another witness came forward to bear testimony from within to the lengths to which this substitution of politics for religion is being carried on. We are referring to the letter of "Nonconformist" in the *Times* for March 6th. The style of this writer shows sufficiently that he is not identical with the "Nonconformist Minister" whose words we have been quoting, and his testimony is that Socialism is "pushing Christianity out of [their] Churches," as is evidenced "in every Church where Socialism has gained a footing, and in the dwindling of communicants and Sunday scholars throughout Nonconformity as a whole."

We have now to fight [he continues] a body which, nominally Nonconformist, is really controlled and dominated by Socialists, whose influence, nominally Christian, is primarily Socialistic, which seeks to capture, and in many places has captured, the machinery of our churches for the purposes of Socialism. Look who stands to-day as the recognized Parliamentary spokesman of the Free Church Council! Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., author of the Right to Work Bill, a piece of purest Socialism, who at the Labour Congress supported a resolution shutting all Christian teaching out of our day schools. That resolution was carried—to the shame of Nonconformity, be it spoken—despite the protest of two Roman Catholic delegates, who, casting politics behind them, refused to deny their faith. Each month Mr. Henderson's own Socialist comrades report the opening of fresh Sunday schools, from which the very name of God is banished. Each year Mr. Henderson's own Free Church Council reports show how Nonconformist Sunday scholars are falling away by the thousand. For a typical case of Free Churchism let Nonconformists look on page 40 of the last report of the West London Sunday School Union, published at 133, Edgware-Road, W., and pick out the biggest church in West London—Whitefield's Tabernacle, from whose pulpit Mr. Henderson and nearly all the leading Socialists have spoken. The best that this huge church can do for the Christian instruction of the young is to provide ten teachers in its Sunday school, only eight of whom are communicants, with no morning Sunday school, an average attendance of eighty-five in the afternoon, and no Band of Hope. By their fruits ye shall know them. . . .

In defence of their Socialism, these Free Church ministers employ against their fellow-Nonconformists exactly the same sneers which Mr. Blatchford levels against all Christianity. Non-Socialist churches are "petty coteries of self-introspective saints," our faiths are "trumpery points of dogma," while the Socialist preachers' own speeches are always "palpitating with great moral issues." The palpitation is there right enough. Their audiences are in no sense local congregations,

but men from all parts who have developed a kind of craze for getting fuddled with fiery speeches once a week, a sort of political dipsomaniacs who get as drunk on words as if they had been drinking brandy. . . .

It is time for Nonconformists to fight against a body which is fighting Nonconformity. That which was "to the Jew a stumbling block, and to the Greek foolishness," still stands for our rallying point against the attack of the Free Church Council.

These quotations are helpful as showing what, in the judgment of the more spiritually minded section which forms the old school among the Nonconformists, is the character and temperament of the people who met together at Swansea for the Conference. We cannot undertake to judge between this critic and those whom he condemns. We can only say that from the reports of the Conference which have been given by the papers, secular and Nonconformist, its proceedings were quite in keeping with this judgment. As one looks down the list of the subjects discussed, one notices that, with a single exception, all relate to the political controversies of the day, and are marked by a Socialistic tendency, and in all the line taken is one of uncompromising and unreasoning condemnation of all who venture to think differently from themselves. Down with the Church of England, down with the denominationalists, down with the Catholics, down with the Unionists, brewers, anti-Socialists, down even with those of their own creed and party who may have ventured to think that some little consideration should be paid to other classes of the community. Such was the pervading note of the Congress.

This may seem a severe judgment, but a glance at some of the proceedings will prove that it is not excessive. On the night previous to the opening, Sir Robert Perks showed his exquisite sense of truthfulness and of charity by allusions to the Anglican Church and to the Catholic Religious Orders. Seeking to ward off from his own people the charge of being wild politicians rather than ministers of religion, he declared that "the Church of England was a political institution from top to bottom," that "every clergyman was a politician," and that that Church had been "built up by taxes and rates wrung from the pockets of the people." And in defence of his sectarianism, he said "he knew of Nonconformist colleagues in the House of Commons who, in their anxiety to avoid what is called the bane of sectarianism, would go into the Lobby to

support the Jesuitical institutions which are now being planted on English soil, and thus in their tolerance take into the nation's bosom the foul and deadly viper which every other nation had sought to expel." It is a matter of common knowledge that Anglican clergymen, with the rarest exceptions, take little or no part in politics, certainly no such violent part as do ministers of the type of Dr. John Clifford or Mr. Silvester Horne; and surely Sir Robert Perks must know that, apart from the comparatively small Church rates—for the maintenance of worship, which have long since been abolished—the Anglican Church has had nothing from the State. That tithes are not "wrung from the pockets of the people" is manifest in the simple fact that in the case of Disestablishment there is no thought of remitting these rates to the tithe-payer. They are a charge on his land which, being taken into account when he bought it, proportionately reduced its price for him, and if the parson who is its present beneficiary is deprived of it, it will be assigned to some national purpose. Of the Church holdings or other endowments, those of post-Reformation origin were not created by grants from the State, but by the private offerings of members of that Church. The pre-Reformation endowments were likewise given by private donors not by the State (unless possibly in exceptional cases). Of course those private offerings were made to Catholics, from whom they were taken by the State at the time of the Reformation and given to the newly-created Anglican Church. Whether that transaction was justifiable or not we need not discuss now, especially as, after all this lapse of time, the modern Catholics make no claim to have them restored; but in any case the endowments in question were never wrung from the pockets of the people. As for the Catholic monasteries and convents, whether peopled by British subjects or exiled foreign subjects, it would have been well if Sir Robert Perks had confessed openly like a man, what is obviously the fact, that he could not produce a scrap of evidence to prove that any one of these had given even the smallest offence to any one whatever; well, too, had he not omitted to mention that, if they have been exiled from their own country, it was by men who likewise never attempted to prove any crime against them, but turned them out of house and home, simply and solely out of hatred for the Christian religion.

On the Tuesday morning, the Rev. Evan Jones, of Carnarvon

was chosen President, and delivered an introductory address which, owing to the feebleness of his voice, does not appear to have made much impression. After this occurred an episode which was greatly to the credit of the Hon. and Rev. W. Talbot Rice, the Vicar of Swansea, who, accompanied by some of his colleagues, came forward to welcome the Congress on the part of the Anglicans in the town. "He trusted that that Conference and the Church Congress to be held in Swansea later in the year would tend to that godly union and concord the need of which was increasingly felt in face of many forces which were antagonistic to the Kingdom of God." To appreciate the generosity displayed by the Vicar in thus intervening, we must remember that it is his Elementary School which has been lately engaging the attention of Parliament, in view of the harshness with which its teachers have been treated by the Nonconformist majority on the Local Education Committee. For the crime of being teachers in a voluntary school the Committee has been refusing to pay them adequate salaries, and quite recently Mr. Talbot Rice has given £10,000 out of his own private property to prevent his school from being closed on the ground of an inefficiency consequent on this cutting down of salaries. The Conference perfunctorily reciprocated the Vicar's welcome by standing up to receive it, and saying a few complimentary words, but no further outcome of the interchange of civilities was discernible in the subsequent proceedings. The palm of Christian friendliness seems to have been decidedly with the Vicar.

This episode completed, the Education question was taken in hand. Dr. John Clifford brought forward an inordinately long string of Resolutions, the gist of which was that every State or State-aided school without any exception whatever, must be absolutely undenominationalized. Only one system must be permitted, and that altogether homogeneous, on the principle of unlimited public control and management, no tests direct or indirect for teachers, and simple Bible-mangling in the Nonconformist sense everywhere taught—of course with the confiscation of all such funds as members of other religious communities had for the protection of their children's faith accumulated at the cost of frequent and painful sacrifices. It seems that originally these Resolutions had been slightly less drastic, or at least were accompanied by some clause approving of the policy of compromise which the Government, with the

co-operation of some few Nonconformist ministers and Members of Parliament, tried last autumn. But even this slight concession to the principle of equity stirred the bile of the extreme left of these extremists, and a boiling-hot Gospeller of the name of Guttery (the same who, according to the *Times* correspondent, "Nonconformist," recently showed his imagination as well as his irreverence by parodying a specially sacred sentence from the Bible into "they gave us a Tory Government of beer mingled with blood, but we received it not"), successfully insisted that all approvals of compromise, past or future should be deleted and the Resolutions made to stand, as they ultimately did, in their naked intolerance and injustice. This fanatic "did not want such things to happen in the next twelve months as had happened in the last; he wanted to close the doors on contracting out, on right of entry, and on teachers in Council Schools giving denominational teaching; he wanted them to close the door with a bang, to lock it and keep the key. Let the men who unlocked that door take notice that the [Free?] Council was not behind them." Others spoke to the Resolutions, but this was the tone that prevailed, no one venturing to put in a plea for moderation, or reminder that other people besides Nonconformists might claim to have, and actually have, consciences. Such a notion would indeed have seemed to them ridiculous. Were they not the choice flower of Christianity, and was it not for them to decide, not only for themselves but also for others, what measure of bread-crumbs from a table that was rightly theirs might be thrown by way of commiseration to Christians of inferior orders?

Into the midst, however, of their self-complacency over this policy of Thorough, came a bombshell from a quarter whence they had evidently least expected it. The Rev. J. M. Saunders, a Nonconformist minister from the town where they were met together, suddenly sprang up to move an amendment in favour of the secularist solution. "The time had come [it said] when the Government should call on the Churches to undertake entirely the religious instruction of the children." This amendment was seconded by the Rev. Abel Parry, of Rhyl. An attempt was made to prevent its discussion, but the Chairman decided that the mover and his supporters were within their right in bringing it forward. Then the excitement became intense. Dr. Scott Lidgett "made a spirited protest against the amendment, the acceptance of which [he declared] would be

a most remarkable sign of instability of purpose under pressure of controversy." But an apple of discord had been cast into their midst, and by this time it reached the platform. Sir George White described himself as the "arch-fiend of compromise," whatever that meant, and blamed the Nonconformist members in the House of Commons for having exposed their plain issue to these dangers by admitting the spirit of negotiation and compromise—in other words, by conceding that other people's consciences ought to receive some consideration. "He was not prepared to allow the Board of Education to put the Bible under its edict. Secularism would assist Romanism in every possible way, for Romanism had always resisted the placing of the Bible in the hands of the children. There were hundreds of thousands of children who, but for the Bible in the Elementary Schools, would grow up ignorant of the Bible." It did not occur to Sir George White that to speak thus was to acknowledge the inability of the Sunday Schools to bear the chief strain of the religious education of the children, and hence the injustice of forcing the alternative of simple Bible-reading or no religious instruction at all, on those children towards the building up of whose religious beliefs this simple Bible-mangling (for such it is wont to be) contributes no useful element whatever.

But Sir George White's remarks "brought Dr. Campbell Morgan to his feet with the declaration that he was in favour of secular education, but not of the exclusion of the Bible from the schools. 'By all means,' he exclaimed, 'let us have the Bible in all schools, but let us have it without the interpretation either of Dr. Clifford or of the Archbishop of Canterbury.'" Here he illustrated what is so obvious and yet is so strangely unobserved by the advocates of undenominationalism, the impossibility of adhering consistently to the principle of explaining a book without giving it the interpretation you have in your mind. Secularism would say, By all means let us use the Bible in the schoolrooms which all are to attend, but let us use it as literature, on a par with the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, for the excellent stories which it contains, and from which we can deduce useful moral lessons for the children; only let us take care not to convey the idea that these stories are more than mere legends, still less that their references to God are based on truth. But in practice a secularist teacher would be impelled to go a step further, unconsciously if not consciously, and convey to the children the impression that these stories are

mere fancies of the imagination, and that, though they are free to believe in God, it is foolish to do so. Similarly, a Calvinist teacher would inevitably introduce his own view of man's total depravity, and others to match. Curiously, Sir Robert Perks, who next spoke, gave a practical example of this inevitable impulse. He was indignant at the idea of excluding all comments on the Bible text. "Supposing," he said, "a little boy in a Lincolnshire village comes to school with a black band on his arm. He has lost a little brother, who his mother has told him is now in Heaven; and he asks the teacher where is Heaven. Is the teacher to be forbidden to give him what comfort is in his power, because it is forbidden to explain the Bible? Must he say to the boy, 'I am not allowed to tell you now; you must wait till it is after four o'clock.'" But here Dr. Rendal Harris, of the Society of Friends, took him up, and said: "I want you to think of the same Lincolnshire village. There is another little boy with a black band round his arm. 'Please, teacher,' he exclaims, 'my little brother is dead, and mother says he is in Purgatory. Where is Purgatory?' 'That,' says the teacher, 'is a very proper question, but I am paid for teaching you other things; but if you will only come to me after school hours, I will readily tell you.'" Probably in his heart of hearts Sir Robert Perks thought the cases were not similar; that in his case the teacher and pupils were Nonconformists whose creed should be taken as the rule suitable to be applied to all; but in the other case the teacher and pupils were obnoxious Romanists worthy of no consideration at all. Still, this would not do to say aloud: whereas, if he were to say aloud that Purgatory was not a doctrine common to Catholics and Nonconformists whilst Heaven was, he would have the secularist behind him protesting that neither was Heaven a doctrine common to Christians and Agnostics.

The supporters of this secularist amendment were earnestly solicited to abandon a contention so distasteful, but they refused, and pressed for a division. This led to the discovery that they could only command fifty votes in that large assembly, a discovery which was welcomed by the vast majority with a feeling of relief. They must not, however, suppose that that is the end of the matter. We ourselves shall not be suspected of any leanings towards the secular solution, for we have written against it in this periodical, and have rejected it as inadmissible on exactly the same grounds as the Cowper-

Templeist solution that pleases the Nonconformists. Still, we must confess that as against the Nonconformists the contention of the Secularists is unanswerable. The Nonconformists lay down a principle which they declare they will force on us all. It is that there shall be but one type of State-supported school in the country, and that in this school only those fundamental religious doctrines shall be taught which are held in common by all the denominations in the country. Then come the Agnostics and say, Very well, we accept your principle, but as we do not believe in the Divinity of Christ, the rewards and punishments of an after-life, or the existence of a Personal God, we claim that these doctrines shall not be admitted into the school teaching. Are they not perfectly logical in making this application of the principle?

What then is to be the final outcome of all this controversy? The Free Church Council people are deriving from their proceedings at Swansea a confidence that their own school policy is about to carry the day. Their representatives in Parliament are to be resolutely brought to heel, the Government is to be told plainly that it must, if it is to keep in power, give up parleying with other classes, and take its tune humbly and obediently from their pipes, the House of Lords is to be triumphantly abolished, and Anglicans, Catholics, and Secularists are to be trampled under foot. Well, that is their anticipation, but, if anything can be learnt from the state of the country and the experience of the last few years, that is just the last thing which is likely to happen. The causes which have been operating in Parliament during the last few years will continue to operate, and will therefore continue to prevent the Government from obeying servilely the dictates of their would-be masters. The Agnostics who demand the secular solution are very far indeed from being without numbers and influence, indeed their numbers and influence are increasing with each new generation sent forth from those nurseries of Indifferentism and Agnosticism, the Council Schools with their principle of "No Tests for Teachers." It is this party which must ultimately prevail, if the policy of one homogeneous type of school is to be persisted in. The only possible alternative which under present conditions has any chance of working is that in which a serious attempt is made to do justice to all by sanctioning, as at present, a few types of school, all to receive equal assistance from the State.

Of other episodes of the Congress we must confine our remarks to two, though elsewhere in this number we have commented on the perversities of that erratic person, Mr. Joseph Hocking. Meeting so soon after the publication of the anonymous book and the anonymous letter from which we have given some quotations, it was to be expected that the Council should declare itself on the question of Nonconformity and Politics. Speeches were made by the Revv. F. B. Meyer and C. Silvester Horne which are said by the *Christian World* to have raised the enthusiasm of the hearers to "boiling point." Indeed Mr. Silvester Horne seems to have "stirred it to a white heat" by his fiery speech on "making a kingdom *v.* making saints." It was perhaps imprudent in him under the circumstances to give such points to the anonymous writer, who might claim the exhibition as confirming the description he had given of palpitating orations at Mr. Horne's own chapel, Whitefield's. But one thing was transparent in Mr. Horne's speech. He showed by his wrath that the two writers witness to a considerable cleavage within the Nonconformist ranks, of the presence of which he was well aware.

It seemed [he said] as if the Churches were suffering for the moment from something like an influenza microbe, which seemed in certain quarters to have created physical and moral distress. They have very little to say to their critics without. It was not the foes without, but the foes within, that concerned them. It was a question of what was the destiny, not the mission, of the Free Churches in England. . . . They had no belief in the assumption that to handle politics was to handle pitch, and that to save the soul of the Church they must leave the State alone. . . . Imagine Samuel or Elijah apologizing for taking part in politics! But even if he apologized for Samuel or Elijah he would not apologize for himself. The business of the Church was not to make up a number of the elect—it was to make a Divine commonwealth. He denounced the insidious doctrine that the Church should have nothing to do with politics, as an ignominious betrayal by the Church of her ideal. He held up John Calvin as a man who did noble service by his insistence that the world had no use for a Church that had a Gospel but had not a kingdom. It was the business and it was the duty of the Church of Christ to help to shape the policies of kingdoms and to Christianize the institutions of the State. . . . He believed the Free Churches were predestined in the power of God to break the power of the liquor trade; to save the Church of Christ from secular dominion, and the schools of the people from the yoke of the priest; to end the long, disastrous lease of the land monopoly, and to save the fair fame of Christian civilization from

the shame of the slum and the sweater's den. . . . They might reform the Jews and the Romans, and every empire on earth except their own; but if they began to reform their own, their rich deacons who had cushions and gave subscriptions would transfer their cushions and subscriptions to the nearest "spiritual" church.

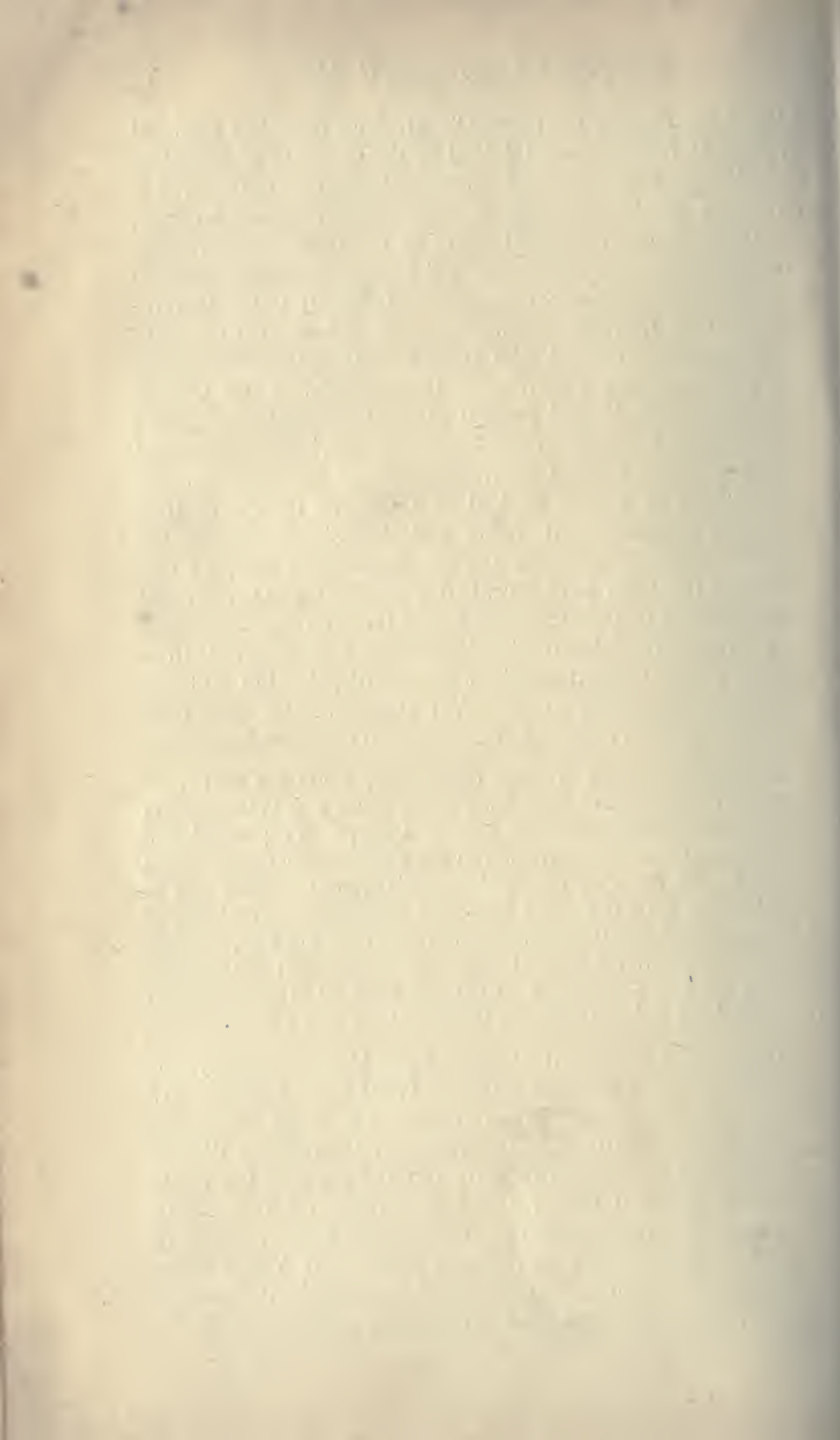
These are fine words, but his colleague, the author of *Nonconformity and Politics*, had already pointed out to him the misconstruction which lurks in them. Politics, truly says his colleague, is usually a question of method rather than of aim. Certain ends are desired by the contending parties on either side, such as that sobriety should prevail, that the conditions of life should be improved for the poor, that all denominations should have equal educational opportunity. But will a particular licensing bill, or taxation of land values bill, or education bill, secure these desirable ends, and secure them without involving evils of a still worse kind? These are points on which there can be difference of opinion among good men. And in their political action good men must be allowed to use their judgment and take their sides accordingly, each party striving according to its power for the prevalence of its own policy. But what the political Nonconformists are accused of doing is confounding probabilities with certainties, denouncing those who take opposite views on the questions of method and charging them with not caring about the end, employing their Church organization for the suppression of all political opinions counter to their own among their fellow-religionists, stirring up fierce passions and using the most violent language in the process, with the consequent result of diverting into these channels the greater part of their vitality from the quiet and peaceful paths of the spiritual life. Such is the charge against the political clerics of whom Mr. Horne himself is perhaps the most aggravated specimen. It is a domestic controversy, and we must leave them to settle it for itself. As outsiders, all we can say is that such an identification of religion with politics is not edifying, and is not likely to work for the national welfare.

The other episode which we must not pass over quite unnoticed, concerns the part in the Conference taken by the Government. Quite in the manner of one who issues orders to his subordinates, the Rev. Thomas Law, the secretary to the Free Church Council, stated on the Wednesday morning that "he had told Mr. Runciman that they must, if possible, have a Cabinet Minister to represent him, and he and Mr. Asquith

felt the full force of the request." Mr. Runciman had intended to come himself, but was detained by the necessity of defending himself from attack in the debate the Opposition were about to raise over the Swansea school case. Mr. Trevelyan, however, his Under-Secretary, would come in his place. Accordingly Mr. Trevelyan came and spoke at the closing meeting, but with results which can hardly have been satisfactory to the Government. On Thursday evening, in the House of Commons, Mr. Runciman protested with some warmth against the accusation that "he had shown vindictiveness against the Church schools, and that he had decided in this [Swansea] case against the managers because it was a Church school," and "he assured the House that he had been actuated by no such motive," adding "that as long as he had to administer the Act of 1902 he would administer it justly and fairly." Moreover the Attorney-General, speaking in Mr. Runciman's support and defending the legal advice he had given him, was constrained under pressure of debate to admit that the Swansea authorities in cutting down the teachers' salaries had behaved in a manner which "unfortunately was not illegal" but still was "an ungenerous thing to do." Yet almost at the same hour Mr. Trevelyan was speaking at Swansea in terms such as these:

Ministers were being attacked because they would not stretch the law against the advice of their law advisers to make it fit the views of the Denominationalist managers and the Bishops. They intended to do nothing of the kind. When you are administering an unjust and unpopular law the only safe and possible plan to follow was to administer the letter of the law with strict impartiality. The Board of Education would give Denominationalists their pound of flesh, but they must be content with their bond. . . . The Government was helpless to satisfy the Free Churchmen. What they could do in administration they were doing and would do, but they could not alter the law.

The conflict between the words of the Under-Secretary and those of his official chief are glaring. What is the explanation? We do not believe that Mr. Runciman was insincere in his professions of impartiality in the House of Commons. We are quite sure he would wish to carry out the existing law in its own spirit of equal treatment for all. The conflict is clearly due to the unfortunate servitude to the Free Church clique in which the Government has placed itself. At Westminster Mr. Runciman could partially forget his chains. At Swansea Mr. Trevelyan was constrained to remember them,



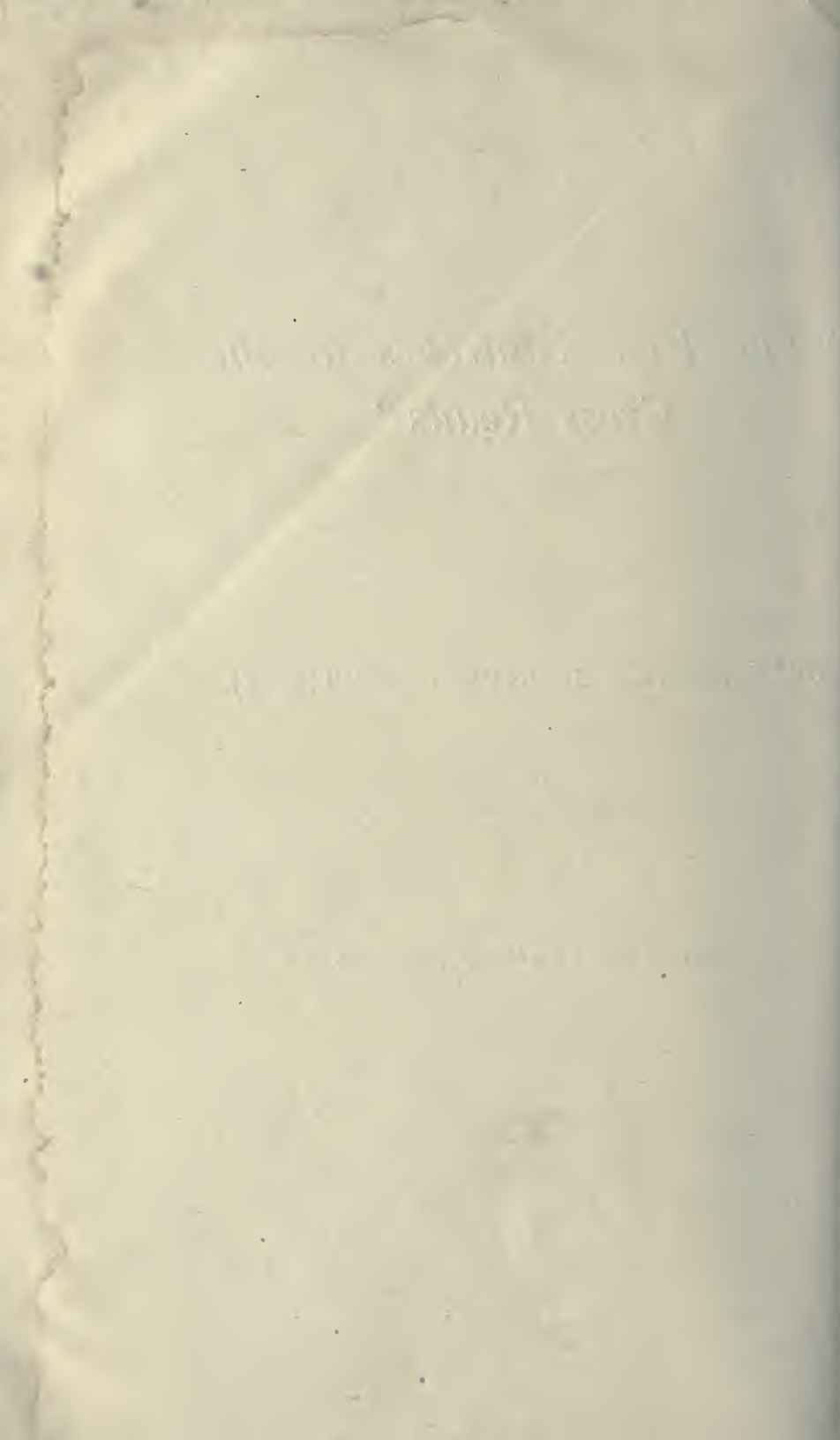
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"The Free Churches at the Cross Roads"

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

Reprinted from "The Month," April, 1916.



“THE FREE CHURCHES AT THE CROSS ROADS”

WE do not need to remind our readers that “the Free Churches” is the designation which the Nonconformist religious communities in this country apply to themselves as being, unlike the Anglican Church, free in all respects from the control of the State. It is now just twenty-three years ago since, under the leadership of the late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, these Nonconformist Churches, or at all events the more notable among them, formed themselves into a federation, organized under the name of the National Free Church Council, and began to hold for the direction of their activity annual Congresses in towns chosen each year for the purpose. What moved them thus to confederate was the consciousness that their number and divisions were continually exposing them to the reproach that they were an object-lesson of the antithesis to that unity which our Lord prayed might at all times characterize His Church. Under the influence of this feeling the founders of the idea embodied in the Free Church Council met together and at the first of their Conferences, which took place in 1893, came to the conclusion that, to quote the words of their spokesman who describes the circumstances of their origin in the *Daily Mail Year Book of the Churches* (1908), “the differences between the various sections of Nonconformity did not affect the substance of their faith, but arose merely from variations in method of interpretation”; and on that occasion “questions that had divided the Free Churches for hundreds of years—such as the ministry, the Sacraments, and the fellowship—were brought forward, and it was quickly seen that much practical religious work might be accomplished in common.” On this basis they set themselves to institute Local Councils, in the election of representatives for which the principle followed was that the representation should be territorial not denominational, so that the delegates sent annually by each Local Council to form “the National Council of the Free Churches” should sit there not as denominationalists but simply as Evangelical Free Churchmen, and thereby demonstrate to the world that in essence

the Free Churches were one. The object of these National Councils, as defined in their Constitutions, was to be fivefold: (1) To facilitate fraternal intercourse and co-operation among the Evangelical Free Churches; (2) to assist in the re-organization of Local Councils; (3) to encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the Churches; (4) to advocate the New Testament doctrine of the Churches, and to defend the rights of the associated Churches; (5) to promote the application of the Law of Christ to every relation of human life.

This last clause is expressed in language which may appear to be perfectly harmless. But there were those who, like the late Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, foresaw that by the "Law of Christ" a powerful section of these Nonconformist leaders might be trusted to identify the Law of Christ with exaggerated views of their own as to what it was the Law of Christ prescribed, and by "application of these views to every relation of life" to contemplate agencies, like those of the political caucus, for trampling down the religious liberties of those in the land whose consciences or political prudence did not permit them to fall in with the same views. We may be permitted on this point to refer back to an article in this periodical for April, 1909, in which we commented on the Free Church Council of that year, when—in violent protest against some of their own body who complained of the political intolerance which, to the comparative suppression of strictly spiritual interests, had absorbed the energies of the Free Council leaders—Mr. Sylvester Horne, then Head Minister at Whitefield's Chapel, Tottenham Court Road, a chapel specially notable for the political and even socialistic character of its preaching, in a speech described by the reporters as having stirred the audience to "a white heat," denounced the insidious doctrine that the Church should have nothing to do with politics, as an ignominious betrayal by the Church of her ideal.

He held up John Calvin [said the printed report of his utterance] as a man who did a noble service by his insistence that the world had no use for a Church that had a Gospel but had not a kingdom. . . . He believed that the Free Churches were predestined in the power of God to break the power of the liquor trade, to save the Church of Christ from secular dominion, and the schools of the people from the yoke of the priest, to end

the long disastrous lease of the land monopoly, and to save the fair fame of Christian civilisation from the shame of the slum and the sweater's den.

Such was the spirit that had developed by that time in the Free Church Council and its predominant members, and there has certainly been no fundamental change in their methods since. But with the Free Church Council meeting that has just been held, a new departure has, not indeed as yet been formally accepted by the representatives of these religious bodies, but has been propounded by the Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, the President for this year, and enthusiastically welcomed by the delegates who attended the meeting at which it was broached. For this new departure has been claimed such an importance that in face of its challenge the President himself has not hesitated to declare that "the Free Churches are now at the Cross Roads in the pursuance of their destiny." But we had better let Mr. Shakespeare explain his proposals and the reasons for them in his own words, or rather in the somewhat unsatisfactory reports that seem to be all so far obtainable.

He began by claiming for the history of the Nonconformist bodies in this country that they had been raised up to do, and had done, an important work for the maintenance and spiritual progress of religion.

He wanted, if he could, to make them feel the gravity of the moment and the stupendous issues that hung upon their decision. He had no apology to make for the existence of the Free Churches. He showed how inevitably they had come into being, and in the Providence of God had been launched upon their way. They had a common origin, a common emphasis, and a common conviction at their very heart. The one essential was the indwelling presence of Christ. It was the deep and solemn conviction of all the Free Churches that their power and authority were safer in the keeping, not of ecclesiastical experts or prelates or Popes, but of the redeemed people illuminated by the Spirit of God. The whole world would be poorer if Nonconformity decayed or went under, for it was the best guarantee of freedom and progress. If we in this country had been saved from revolution, and if our public policy had been in the main a righteous one, and if the Church of England was a great spiritual force, both nation and Church might thank in no small degree the Nonconformity which, at almost every critical hour, had taken the side of liberty and humanity.

That these Nonconformist bodies have, like other religious bodies in the country, numbered among their adherents many earnest men whose good faith and fervent zeal have been conspicuous, should be cordially acknowledged, but that they have any real claim to be regarded as in a surpassing sense "the redeemed people illuminated by the Spirit of God," or that "the whole world would be the poorer if Nonconformity decayed or went under," or that its existence was "the best guarantee of freedom and progress," or, again, that if any other religious bodies in the country were great spiritual forces they owed it to "the stand on the side of liberty and humanity which Nonconformity had taken at every critical hour,"—may be what Nonconformists themselves consider to be true, but is certainly not universally recognized. A more general feeling in the country is perhaps that their words to this effect have gone immeasurably beyond their deserts, and that in fact what has characterized them throughout has been a singular narrow-mindedness of judgment, a persistent tendency to subordinate rational proofs to a subjective emotionalism personal to themselves, to which nevertheless they have demanded that all on every side should submit as to the clear voice of God revealing His will to the nation. The more general feeling concerning them is too that, whatever be the services some of their best members have rendered to Christianity by their fervent spirituality, these Dissenting bodies have as a whole done infinite disservice to this cause by destroying through their endless divisions that universality of consent in the acceptance of Christian doctrines which is the natural testimony in their support for the simple people to rest upon.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Mr. Shakespeare's Bradford Address is that he should have based his proposal for a single United Free Church, in the place of the many Free Churches at present in existence, on a practical acknowledgment of the justice of these criticisms of past Nonconformity to which we are referring. For in broaching his proposals he put the case delicately, by asking them:

Had they realised that they might be called of God to seem to turn their back upon their own past? Had they understood that to-day they might be on the way to Damascus, and that in their case obedience to the heavenly vision might be to heal the wounds and end the separation which their fathers made? It might be that the Spirit was calling them to closer fellowship

with those with whom they had had little to do. To cling to great names and institutions and vested interests and formulæ was to forswear the control of the living God for that of the dead hand. They had come to the cross-roads. They had reached a stage in the religious life of this country when, if they were simply denominations and not a united Church, they were doomed. The principle of division had spent its force, and the era of union must begin. The vital question was, whether they were going forward in separation or together.

And then in the following words he drew forcible attention to their present unsatisfactory condition:

It was certain that things were not going well with them. Money was not the remedy. The people were magnificent, but they were troubled and anxious. He would not give them the discouraging facts which were in his possession, but they knew that for years there had been a continuous decline in members and Sunday-school scholars, and that unless it could be stayed the Free Churches must slowly bleed to death.

What this decline has amounted to the Rev. Carey Bonner mentioned in a subsequent session, when he gave the following statistics: "During seven years to December 31, 1914 . . . fourteen Free Church denominations in Great Britain and Ireland have lost 257,952 scholars and teachers. Two Churches only have gained—the Wesleyan Reform Union 1,313, and the Churches of Christ 1,283." Mr. Carey Bonner suggested, as causes for this decline, national indifference to religion, disregard of Sunday rest and worship, loss of ideals of home life, love of pleasure and idolatry of the material and temporal—true causes no doubt, but to which he might have added as powerfully fostering them all, the handing over of their children to be taught religion by teachers for whose beliefs they take no security.

Another cause of their troubles was due to their Denominationalism itself:

Denominationalism no longer commended itself to the members of their Churches or to the nation at large. It made less and less appeal to their own people. The pull of an unmistakable current had made the anchorage insecure. The most eminent of their ministers regarded themselves as ministers of the Free Church rather than of a particular section. As for the people, with very little pressure the barriers fell. The old feuds had died out. Every great truth or sacred principle which was the

ground of a separation was now accepted by the entire Free Church. The things which divided them were forms of government or an ordinance. They simply could not maintain a cause which was not supported by the public opinion of their own people, and advancing with the inevitableness of the dawn and the energy of the springtime was the growing sense that the differences between the Evangelical Free Churches were not a sufficient ground of separation.

Still more certainly their divisions made no appeal to the conscience and intellect of the best elements in the nation outside their Churches. Some of these elements were with them, but it was in spite of their denominationalism and for the sake of heredity, or of the truth which they held in common. Nothing could be more ominous than to get out of touch with the living and actual interests of the new world, to be insignificant or in antagonism to its mind, to be profoundly or hopelessly at variance with its most earnest conceptions of the things that mattered.

This was indeed to leave them at the mercy of the narrow ideals of a sect rather than the outlook of a redeemed England and a redeemed world. Puritanism captured the intellect and the conscience of the best and greatest men of its day. What was the real thought about them of men like Mr. Asquith, of their thinkers and teachers, of the noble and cultured women who were entering the professions and guiding so many of the movements of to-day; of the most brilliant of the young men at their universities—what did these think of them when they thought of them at all? Never again in this England of ours could they convince those who thought and felt and prayed and had any vision of the Church Catholic, that their present divisions were according to the Word of God and the mind of Christ.

This is indeed a whole-hearted acknowledgment of what Catholics have never ceased to tell them. In leaving, as did their forefathers, the one Christian fold which has the secret of preserving its unity, they have become inevitably the victims of doctrinal disintegration. The misfortune is terrible, but it is to the good that at last they have been led to realize it.

This disunion itself is the evil of evils for them, but Mr. Shakespeare adds to the list of their afflictions some minor but still serious matters. First there was the waste due to overlapping.

The present system was ineffective, and it also involved an enormous waste of men and money, overlapping in the villages,

wasteful distribution of forces in the towns, competition everywhere—the merciless law of competition which reigned in commerce, the law of nature "red in tooth and claw," applied to their Churches. If the conscience of Nonconformity were not hardened by use and custom it would say, "This scandal must stop." Was it either rational or Christian that in the typical English village there should be the Anglican Church, the Baptist, Congregational, Wesleyan, and perhaps Primitive Methodist chapel?

Then there was the paralyzing effect on the formation of their ministry.

Denominationalism affected the ministry most disastrously. A richly endowed ministry was vital to the Free Churches. Earnestness was not enough. Ignorance and incapacity were fatal. The world and the Church were becoming less and less willing to listen to the men who had nothing to say. But the best men were not going into the ministry, as in the days when a church, seeking a minister from college, rejected successively as not good enough George Dawson, Joseph Baynes, Charles Vince, and Alexander Maclaren. What they needed was to reconstruct their whole policy so that young men might see that, instead of eating their hearts out in the struggle with a fatal system, the Free Church minister had an unequalled sphere for the consecration of a man's life and the effective use of his personality.

The political weakness of a divided Free Church might seem of less importance, though possibly they rate it among the most serious of their losses.

Touching on the political weakness of a divided Free Church, he said that a Government which trembled before a Liberal party or an Irish minority simply trifled with themselves. He instanced the scandal of the precedence given to Anglican chaplains with the Expeditionary Force. If they could only work together, by constant pressure and sleepless vigilance, by entering every door which was open to them and forcing open every door which was closed to them, they could rapidly change the entire situation, and compel something more than lip service from their rulers and governors, their Members of Parliament, and those who were jealously safeguarding their monopoly of the life of the nation.

After this exposure of the evils attendant on a plurality of Free Churches the President offered his constructive proposals. The object he was recommending was that in the future there should be only one Free Church, embracing the members of all the Free Churches of the past, and called on

that account the United Free Church. But how was that to be brought about? He realized that the fusion of the component elements could not, at all events for some time to come, be complete.

Coming to constructive proposals, he repudiated any desire to destroy the separate identity and distinctive character of the denominations. The only United Free Church of England which was practicable at the present stage must be on the basis of federation and not of absorption or amalgamation. It should be on the model of the States of America. It was not a final solution, and he should prefer to go much further; but it had never been his method to "cry for the moon." He proposed the construction of—

A United Board to explore the possibilities and implications of Free Church union, and to prepare a national scheme.

Such a board should consist of the very ablest members of our executives, but in addition there should be added certain laymen who have already undertaken great affairs. When the war is over they should earnestly seek the counsel of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Runciman, Sir Robert Perks, Sir William Hartley, Mr. Arthur Henderson, and other public men. Concurrently with this United Board, similar committees should be formed in each district in England to examine the same question.

Although, however, Mr. Shakespeare feels that beyond some adaptation of the idea of federation it would be impossible to carry out the unifying process under present circumstances, he did not hesitate to demand that some sacrifice of vested interests and cherished associations should be made, this being essential if they are to overcome the evils of overlapping.

A united Church which is a reality must come into collision with prejudices, sentiments, and vested interests and family traditions. Some of them are reputable and even have a kind of glamour, but some are very small and contemptible. Just to look at a single aspect of the case. There was no way of correcting overlapping that he knew of but by the closing of a certain number of chapels. To put it bluntly, in a certain village with about one thousand inhabitants, there is an Anglican church; there are two Nonconformist chapels. A recent census was taken on a Sunday morning. One chapel (a nice chapel with an excellent manse) contained five men and four women; the congregation in the other chapel was somewhat larger. There is no way of putting an end to an indefensible piece of overlapping but by the arrangement which leaves one church instead of two, one

minister, one set of incidental expenses, and one Free Church appeal to a perplexed or apathetic village. Of course, in large places it would be reasonable to retain one church of the Congregational and one of the Connexional type. In any case he did not propose that the church which remains shall be undenominational, but linked up as before with its own union or conference, and that all churches shall be known and styled as of the United Free Church of England. He was not unaware of difficulties, but if Nonconformity was to be for ever cowed and dominated by its smallest and narrowest people and by timorous counsels, no solution could be found.

These are in outline the proposals of Mr. Shakespeare, who concludes his address with a plea that his hearers should not be induced to oppose themselves to the new scheme by entrenching themselves too deeply in their sectional shibboleths.

The bigger men get and the better they get the more they care about the central things. . . . The vision is of the re-birth of the Free Churches, the shattering of the shell that the mighty spirit may go free; the clear vision of "a Gospel no longer obscured by a false emphasis on secondary matters, but one which is worth living for, worth dying for; that the soul needs no human mediator, but may "with boldness enter into the holiest of all by the blood of Jesus"; the vision of ministers no longer breaking their hearts among impossible conditions; the one village pastor lifting up his head and walking through its streets as the father and leader of the people; a free Church, not with mechanical union, but "with joy and gladness and cheerful feasts," in which "Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not vex Ephraim," but there shall be one step nearer to the fulfilment of Christ's prayer that they all may be one.

This presidential Address was received, we are told, with acclamation, and a tone of enthusiasm reigned among the audience. When, too, the clauses of the proposed constitution of the new Church were proposed one by one by Dr. Scott Lidgett and others all were carried by large majorities. For what is to be the ultimate result we must doubtless wait for a considerable time. Such bold schemes are not definitely accepted and ratified in a few days.

It has seemed to us that this forward step on the part of our Nonconformist fellow-Christians is of sufficient interest to justify this account of its character in a Catholic periodical. What are we to think of it? So far as it is motivated by the growing feeling in Nonconformist circles that the principle

of division has spent its force, and the era of union must begin; so far as it is based on a recognition that never again in this England of ours could they convince those who thought and felt and prayed, and had any vision of the Church Catholic, that their present divisions were according to the Word of God and the mind of Christ—it is all for the good and is matter for cordial consolation. True, there is no realization in the President's Address, or presumably was among his audience, that unity is impossible among men unless it is cemented together by a teaching and governing authority to which all can rationally submit, even at the sacrifice of their own personal opinions, because it can offer them better guarantees of truth than can their own private judgments. True, that for want of this realization the vision of unity they have set before them is doomed to failure, and probably within no long time. But, this notwithstanding, the more they set the goal of unity before them, and "think and feel and pray" for its attainment, the more likely are they to be led eventually in the direction which leads to its true home. Only let us hope that they will take heed to the "impassioned appeal" of the Rev. E. Aldom French for "deeper spirituality in our Churches" which is said to have awakened a response at the Congress "like the boom of the breakers." "We are not a political institution," he said. "Neither do we exist to attack the Anglican Church. We find our union in our common life. In the newer world of to-morrow there will be a splendid opportunity for the Evangelical Faith."

One criticism, or rather question, is all that we will permit ourselves now. Mr. Shakespeare, as we have seen, insists on the necessity of caring about the "central things," and not putting undue emphasis on secondary matters. He is not very clear in defining the character of these central things which, if we understand him, are to form the sole point of belief on which all members of the one United Free Church are to agree. But we imagine from his words, "the soul needs no human mediator but may with boldness enter into the holiest of all by the blood of Jesus," he has in mind the doctrine of Justification by Faith which Luther called the *articulus stantis et cadentis Ecclesiæ*, and to which the English Nonconformists assign such a primary place in the system of spirituality. If, however, it is this which constitutes the central thing, or things, in question, we are afraid

it will not prove to be a bond of union sufficiently strong and durable to hold them all together in a Church that will be more than nominally one. It has been remarked, and with justice, that the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith, though it borrows this expression from two of St. Paul's epistles, understands both the term "faith" and the term "justification" in senses essentially different from those in which they are used by the Apostle; and so arrives at a doctrine which is quite unscriptural, and, if embodying an element of truth, substitutes for the true process of conversion an unsubstantial and unhealthy outburst of emotionalism. The Nonconformists who believe in the reality of this process of justification, do not themselves claim that all who are considered members of their respective denominations have passed satisfactorily through it. There is accordingly a two-fold element, an inner and an outer circle in their membership, one which has had intimate experience of the process, the other which can know of it solely from its outer aspects. How are all these to be bonded together in a single Church the distinctive mark of which is to be its unity? In the Free Churches, as they are at present, the difficulty does not arise to the same extent. They have other points of doctrine or practice which respectively they regard as essential, and it is around these that their distinctive organizations gather. But in the one United Free Church that is to be, there is apparently to be nothing of obligation for the members save such as appertains to the one central point of the Lutheran justification by Faith. Is it that its members will differ on other points as they have done so far? It would seem so, specially as the new Church is not at present to venture further than unity of federation. But in that case what difference will remain outstanding between their past state and that which they wish to substitute for it? Can it be more than that perhaps they will be more content to frequent one another's chapels, and reduce the scandal of overlapping? If so, how will they deliver themselves from the reproach of religious division, unless by incurring the opposite reproach of religious indifferentism? And then, again, as to the "central" element itself which is to constitute the bond of union for the whole of this one Free Church. Surely it does not end itself to form a basis for organization and government. It is essentially individualistic, for its appeal is to a personal experience. Those who claim to have it are persuaded that

it has brought them into immediate contact with God, and how can such persons accept the intervention of other men to decide for them what in the experience they have had is of God and what is not; to be for them, in short, "men-mediators"?

These are some of the obscurities which make one feel very sceptical about the unifying tendency of this Nonconformist movement.

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THE WELSH REVIVAL.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

Reprinted from "The Month," May, 1905.

REVISED EDITION

The Welsh Revival.

Homo sum et nihil humani a me alienum puto. So said the ancient dramatist, speaking through the mouth of one of his characters, and the maxim finds a responsive chord in each well-strung human heart. In the same manner to us, who cherish the Christian faith as man's most precious possession, every manifestation, and particularly every striking manifestation, of the yearnings of the human heart for God and Christ—wherever they may be found and whatever form they may take—must appeal as matter for careful study, and, so far forth as it appears to have the genuine ring, for sympathetic interest. Nor can the fact that we are Catholics limit our sympathy to such religious manifestations as occur within our own Church or are marked by a palpable tendency towards it—as every student of Catholic theology knows.

Our readers will have understood that in thus defining the point of view from which it appeals to us, we are inviting them to a short reflection on the Revival movement, which has been going on for some months among the Nonconformists and Anglican Evangelicals in South Wales, and is said by the Nonconformist papers to be now extending to parts of England.

Let us begin by setting down a brief outline of the facts, and here, in the first place, it is necessary to distinguish between the Welsh Revival and the Torrey-Alexander mission, of which we have been hearing a good deal in London. The latter has also some points of interest from which we might make a study of it, but it is something different from the other; different, that is, in its results—for, perhaps, if one were to regard in it merely the hopes of its projectors, one would have to place the two movements in the same category. But the essence of a revival, as understood by the Nonconformists and Evangelicals, is not in a mere series of sermons and services presenting, however forcibly, the religious issues of life to the hearers, but in a striking and extensive outburst of a certain specific form of

religious emotion among the people affected by it. Not to go further back, it was such an outburst of emotion which attended the preaching of the Wesleys and their colleagues in the latter half of the eighteenth century: it was a similar outburst, though on a lesser scale, which, beginning in America in 1859, passed over to these islands in the following year, and became for a couple of years especially conspicuous in the north of Ireland: as was also the outburst attending the visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey to this country in 1873. And it is claimed, not without reason, for the present occurrences, which are so much exciting the attention of the Protestant religious press, that they belong to the same order of facts, and are perhaps destined to equal or even surpass what is recorded of the previous movements.

Illustrations of what is meant may be found in the columns of the *Methodist Times* and the *Methodist Recorder*, in almost every one of their issues since November last. We may take as a typical specimen, an account given of the proceedings at Ogmore Vale, by a Mr. Backhouse. Ogmore Vale is a mining town a mile or two south of Nantymoel, in Glamorganshire. The Revival has been going on there for the last three months or so. The place has several Nonconformist chapels, all of which were crowded three times in the day, on Friday, February 10th, the day of Mr. Backhouse's visit.

The evening meeting in the Baptist Chapel commenced at five and continued until eleven. The building was quickly filled, every available inch of standing room, both in the gallery and below, being utilized. Then the doors were closed, and an overflow meeting was held in the Wesleyan Chapel. The crowded congregation contained more men than women, largely young men between twenty and thirty. No one began, or conducted, or closed the meeting; all this the people did themselves. The singing was wonderful: at this meeting it was said to be exceptional, even as compared with other similar meetings. No hymn books were used and no hymns announced. The hymns were those familiar to all. They seldom sing a hymn through, but one or two verses, and frequently only part of a verse, which they repeat, as a kind of refrain, over and over again, now in Welsh, now in English, such as "Songs of praises, we will ever give to Thee," "Bring forth the royal diadem, and crown Him Lord of all." Sometimes the singing continued several minutes. In the midst of it one would begin to pray or speak. Then the singing fell to a soft, low murmur, like the sound of distant voices, so that the one praying or speaking was distinctly heard. In all this there was no confusion or disorder, no

shouting or excitement, but a solemn reverence and a deeply spiritual atmosphere. In the earnest prayers the peculiar plaintive tone of the "hwyl" was often pronounced, and even those who did not understand a word felt that there was mighty power and unction. Some preferred to go to the "big pew" to pray and give their testimony. Two men, natives of the place, recently converted, about whose history I afterwards learned something, did this. One, whose face confirmed his words, said that he had been a prize-fighter, and declared that he had been the worst character in the town.¹

One reason why Mr. Backhouse selected Ogmore Vale for his visit was because Evan Roberts, the young collier who has been mainly instrumental in giving the impulse to the Revival movement, was expected to be there on that day. He had engaged to be at Cardiff, but had written to say that "he was forbidden by the Spirit to go to Cardiff just then; and he was coming to Ogmore Vale instead."

Mr. Evan Roberts was not present at the morning and afternoon meetings, and did not arrive at the evening meeting until 6.30, accompanied by the two Misses Davies. They entered by the vestry door, and took seats on the rostrum. No notice was taken of their coming; the meeting went on as before. It was not until eight o'clock that Mr. Roberts took any part. He then spoke a few words in Welsh, and a little later he said that there was an obstacle in the way, something there hindering the working of the Holy Spirit. Then for a long time he leaned over the desk, with his face between his hands, and for fifteen minutes the people sang a plaintive refrain, often repeated, in Welsh, the meaning of which I understood to be an appeal to the Holy Spirit to come, and that His coming might be like burning fire. The singing of this was marvellous. It gradually sank into a soft murmur, then the men's voices ceased, and only women's low murmurs remained, until it died away in a tremulous whisper. Evan Roberts seemed to be in great distress of mind, and an anxious, dejected expression settled upon his face. In the few remarks that he made he dwelt upon the hindrance somewhere in the way. Then he sat down in the chair at the back of the rostrum, and leaned forward with his face between his hands, and for a long time so remained, while the meeting went on as before.

About ten o'clock he suddenly rose, and, with a beaming countenance, from which all the previous dejection had vanished, he said that the burden was gone, and the obstacle removed. Then the people caught the same gladsome tone, and although hitherto they had been sitting, they now sprang to their feet, and joyfully began to sing. For twenty minutes they stood and sang a great triumphant outburst of thanksgiving. It was understood that just before this two office-bearers

¹ *Methodist Recorder*, February 23rd.

in the Church, who had been long at variance with each other, and who were present in the meeting, shook hands and became reconciled. The meeting, which had been wonderful before, became more wonderful still, and, scarcely anyone going away, went with a mighty swing until eleven o'clock. All that Mr. Roberts said was in Welsh, and although he had been requested to speak partly in English, he declined, saying that the Spirit had bidden him to speak, not in English, but in Welsh.

The same observer has also his testimony to give regarding the results of the Revival, in which this meeting was an episode.

I was able to make many inquiries as to the fruits and results of the Revival among the people on the spot. Everything that I saw and heard abundantly confirmed my previous conviction of its genuine reality. It has produced a revolution. Even in many who have not professed conversion a great change has been wrought. Profane swearing has been renounced. Rude manners and degrading habits have been abandoned. Full wages are being taken home. There is a domestic happiness unknown before. Drinking and gambling have been largely decreased, and the police-court has little to do. I found that family feuds and quarrels have been healed; that old-standing debts are being paid; that the public-houses are almost deserted; and that at a brewery in the place the men are only working three days a week. "Old things have passed away, and all things are become new."

I also found that besides the number of sinners who have been converted, many nominal Christians, who, as one in his testimony put it, had been "religious without having Christ," have been truly born again. This is a work of the Spirit of God. He is its Leader.

In this remarkable scene, which is typical of many others appertaining to the Welsh Revival, what in the first place impresses us is calculated to win our sympathies. Evidently these are well-meaning, earnest souls, feeling intensely their need of God, and seeking Him in all simplicity and fervour by such paths as they have been taught to follow. The uncompromising boldness, too, with which so many of them have stood up in the midst of their neighbours to acknowledge publicly their past misdeeds, is a thing fair to read of, as is also the evidence they have given of their desire to amend by cutting themselves off from those occasions which have hitherto been their ruin—for what has been said in the passage quoted about the sudden discontinuance of drunkenness, of swearing, and quarrelling is no mere journalistic invention, but the real truth, as we know from more than one private source, indeed, as has been confirmed by statements from the bench. It is, again, consoling

to learn how this desire for conversion has spread to so many. Let it be granted that the enormous numbers of "conversions" reported in the papers are as much exaggerated as doubtless they are; let it be granted that of those who stand up to "accept Christ," by no means all are to be taken at their own valuation; let it be granted that of these numerous conversions the large proportion are not drawn from the ranks of pure outsiders, but are merely passing from the outer to the inner circle of chapel congregations,¹ and that even the accessions from the ranks of pure outsiders are mostly of persons at the bottom of whose hearts lie the not wholly obliterated traces of religious impressions imbibed in the chapel or Sunday school in the days of their childhood—still, that is just what was to be expected, and what happens in all conversion movements, in our own Lenten missions, for instance. And if it is destined to be that a large proportion, or even the vast majority, of these aspirants to a better life will relapse into their former transgressions, it must not be concluded, on that ground alone, that their present reformation is unreal and valueless. Doubtless people are apt to draw conclusions of this kind. Indeed, it is what is often done in judging of the fruits of our own parochial

¹ On this point Mr. Whitehead Clegg writes in the *Methodist Recorder* for March 9th: "I have read almost everything upon the Welsh Revival, and have been surprised that no one has explained to English Methodists some of the circumstances connected with it. Those who live and work amid the religious people of the Principality rejoice not so much at the work which God is doing for the 'outsider,' which appeals to the ordinary English visitor and observer. The conversion of the 'outsider,' such as the Sabbath-breaker, gambler, drunkard, swearer, and so forth, is important, but we rejoice most of all for what God is doing for the 'insider.' If you listen to the testimonies of those blessed in the Welsh Revival belonging to the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches (the Calvinistic Methodists), you will find they do not speak of being 'filled with the Holy Ghost' or of 'entire sanctification,' but simply of what we understand by 'conversion.' I went to preach at a Calvinistic Methodist church. The leading deacon informed me that they never touched or reached the 'outsider,' but he very significantly remarked, 'We keep all our own.' The chapel was practically full at that morning service. Father, mother, sons, and daughters were all seated together. A beautiful and Biblical sight. After the service I was requested to hear the children recite their Scripture. They all marched to the front, and then each recited a portion of Scripture. Every child had a separate passage, and some of them were involved sentences of St. Paul's. It was a real treat to me. Now, these are the people in this church where the Revival has broken out—religious, Bible learners, and so on, but without Christ. Membership does not depend upon conversion. The children of members are members. Hence you will find the abuses among these members to which unconverted persons are liable. Everybody has been religiously trained, and so when one becomes a drunkard he will sing sacred songs. Hence we need to rejoice that this wave of soul-converting power has come upon these Churches. There are, of course, exceptions, but the above is a statement of things in common,"

missions. It is observed how at mission after mission persons of a certain type break away from sin and neglect, attend the services, go to the sacraments, and make fervent promises of amendment, yet very soon after return to their evil ways, and persist in them for another interval of three, or five years, or more. Then the cynical observer, inadvertent to the fact that by the side of these backsliders there are others whose conversion proves solid and durable, proceeds to condemn missions altogether, as wasting time and energy in producing results which are insincere and hollow. But such critics might profit by the judgment of a neutral critic like Dr. William James, who says:

Men lapse from every level—we need no statistics to tell us that. Love is, for instance, well known to be irrevocable, yet constant or inconstant, it reveals new flights and reaches of ideality while it lasts. These revelations form its significance to men and women whatever be its duration. So with conversion experiences. That it should for even a short time show a human being what the high-water mark of his spiritual capacity is, this is what constitutes its importance—an importance which backsliding cannot diminish, although persistence might increase it.¹

Nor is the importance of this revelation of self to self limited to its present. It is a force of great value for the future. The memory of it at least will be an abiding grace which, if it does not prevent the backsliding altogether, may avail to restrain the lengths to which it might otherwise extend, or arouse intermittent desires and perhaps endeavours which God sees and regards though men may not, and which in His Providence are perhaps preparing the way for some future and more solid return later on in life or in the critical hour of death. Those of us who have had ministerial experiences know how true and consoling is this feature in God's dealings with sinners, and how much more possible it is to impress a sinner in his last hours when there are spiritual antecedents of this real though unstable kind to which appeal can be made. And with such ministerial experiences meeting us on every side, surely we ought not to be over-prone to condemn these conversions that do not last, but rather feel in regard to them like the Saviour Himself, who would not bruise the broken reed or quench the smoking flax.

It is one thing, however, to sympathize with the simple-minded and simple-hearted devotion of all these poor people,

¹ *Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 256.

but quite another to approve of the particular channel along which their pious aspirations are encouraged to flow. Let us consider, therefore, the Revival movement from this latter point of view. And here the first thing to invite reflection is the curiously haphazard procedure which, as in the scene at Ogmore Vale, is characteristic of its meetings. Says Mr. Stead :

The meetings open—after any amount of preliminary singing, while the congregation is assembling—by the reading of a chapter or a psalm. Then it is go-as-you-please for two hours or more. The amazing thing is that it does go and does not get entangled in what might seem to be inevitable confusion. Three-fourths of the meeting consist of singing. No one uses a hymn-book. No one gives out a hymn. . . . People pray and sing, give testimony ; exhort as the Spirit moves them. . . . If any one, carried away by his feelings, prays too long, or if any one when speaking fails to touch the right note, some one—it may be anybody—commences to sing. . . . If (the meeting) decides to hear and pray, the singing dies away. If, on the other hand, as it usually happens, the people decide to sing, the chorus swells its volume until it drowns all other sound. . . . On one of these occasions Evan Roberts was addressing the meeting. He at once gave way and the singing became general.¹

And another witness tells us of his surprise (though he found it pleasant) at this feature in the meetings :

It was a perfectly new experience to me that three or four people should be praying at once, and another giving an address, and the whole congregation singing.²

The theory suggested to explain this dominance of individualism is that it is due to the Holy Spirit. "The Spirit of God was master of the assembly," and "the Spirit bloweth where it listeth." The parallelism too is pointed out between what is now happening and what was the nature of a Christian service at Corinth in the days of St. Paul.³ It is hardly a satisfactory parallelism, for one cannot read St. Paul's admonition to the Corinthians without feeling that this practice of the Corinthian Christians caused him anxiety. They were a masterful section of his disciples, and he felt he must be tactful with them. But at least he insisted that not more than two or three should speak at any given meeting, and then "by course," that is, consecutively not simultaneously, that all things might "be

¹ *The Revival in the West*, p. 39.

² Mr. Edward Clifford, *Record* for March 3rd,

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 23—40.

done decently and in order." What, however, needs especially to be noted about services conducted on this individualistic principle, is that they are just such as are calculated to work up the emotions to a high state of tension. It is only when in so high-wrought a state that an otherwise orderly congregation could be capable of making or tolerating these haphazard interruptions, and of continuing in them for hours and days together; whilst an enthusiasm thus intense is extremely catching, and the more difficult to resist the more it acquires by passing from one to another the volume of a powerful social force.

We refer to it as emotional tension, not as hysterical excitement, for it is denied by the advocates of the Revival that the latter, but acknowledged that the former, is conspicuous in the revival. Thus "the vast congregations," writes Mr. Stead, "were as soberly sane, as orderly, and at least as reverent as any congregation I ever saw beneath the dome of St. Paul's when I went to hear Canon Liddon." But he adds: "It was aflame with a passionate religious enthusiasm the like of which I have never seen at St. Paul's;" and again:

There was absolutely nothing wild, violent, hysterical, unless it be hysterical for the labouring breast to heave with sobbing that cannot be repressed, and the throat to choke with emotion as a sense of the awful horror and shame of a wasted life suddenly bursts upon the soul.¹

Still there are witnesses, Mr. Stead himself included, who acknowledge to occasional and even more than occasional displays of an excitement which it is easy to recognize as hysterical, and the intermingling of which with the comparatively milder phenomena described in the passages already quoted seems to show that even the latter are not far removed from the same category as those others with which they are in such close continuity.

Thus we read of a meeting at St. Just, which the reporter to the *Methodist Recorder* calls an instance of *Wales redivivus*.

No sooner had we finished the Backslider's hymn than the backslider himself appeared at the communion-rails, and solo and sermon had to go, and the penitents had to flock like doves to the inquiry room. Some people would call it Bedlam; some would certainly think we were drunk; some would say there was far too much excitement and noise; but one thing is certain, St. Just is having such a shaking as it has not had for years. The man from England may look on with

¹-Op. cit. p. 35.

disgust. He forgets that we are Celts; when we see our fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and husbands and wives, giving their hearts to the Lord, we cannot help getting excited. "If we don't shout we shall bust," said one man.¹

This, indeed, was in Cornwall, but in Wales itself instances of the same extravagance are reported. Thus Mr. Edward Clifford, the Honorary Secretary of the Church Army, in his sympathetic article in the *Record*,² says of a meeting at Merthyr Tydvil:

The prayers are certainly sometimes excited . . . one young man seemed to me too excited, and reminded one of the boy in Raphael's picture of the Transfiguration. A little boy about nine years old prayed with great earnestness for a long time, quite holding the attention of the great audience, but I dare not say that either was wrong.

And at Penheolgerrig, a village in the same neighbourhood, Mr. Allworth Eardley tells us of "the finest example of high-wrought feeling I ever saw."

A young man who, as I was told, had been up to a few weeks before a desperate character . . . would begin either in prayer or testimony (and I heard him two or three times), with a tone of deep earnestness. Then, as he became more strongly moved, the words poured forth, first in rhythmic intonation, then in exquisitely musical cadences, till at last, his whole body swaying to and fro, his words sobbed and wailed out in a passionate falsetto, and the whole congregation, as if smitten by an unseen hand, bowed and quivered under the storm.³

And—to omit further illustrations to the same effect—Mr. Stead in other pages of his little tract, uses terms which require us to discount considerably the milder language of the passages we have just heard from him.

[The South Wales Revival, he says] reminded me of the effect which travellers say is produced on the desert by the winds which propel the sand-storms, beneath which whole caravans have been engulfed. The wind springs up, no one knows from whence. Its eddying gusts lick up the sand, and soon the whole desert is filled with moving columns of sand, swaying and dancing and whirling as if they were instinct with life . . . There is something there from the Other World. You cannot say whence it comes or whither it is going, but it moves and lives and reaches for you all the time. You see men and

¹ *Methodist Recorder* for February 23rd.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Methodist Recorder* for March 9th.

women go down in sobbing agony before your eyes as the invisible Hand clutches at their heart. And you shudder. It's pretty grim, I tell you. If you are afraid of strong emotions you'd better give the Revival a wide berth.¹

In the man who is generally recognized as the leading spirit in this Revival movement, one expects to find condensed the characteristics which are its distinguishing note. What then about the religious physiognomy of Evan Roberts, as it is portrayed to us by those who have been observers of his personality? That this young man is as full of a sincere and ardent zeal and piety, as he is conspicuous for his amiable and lovable disposition, seems undoubted; and Mr. Allworth Eardley, in the report already referred to, answers us that "in Mr. Roberts, at least, there is nothing excitable or exciting," . . . and that he "is hardly ever, if at all, carried away as so many are into passionate eloquence under the impulse of strong feeling." But if Mr. Stead's account is to be trusted, he is by no means wanting in those features which are usually considered morbid, and ascribed to hysteria. According to his own account at Trecynon last November, "for years he was a faithful member of the Church, a zealous worker, and a free giver; but he had recently discovered that he was not a Christian. . . . It was only since he had made that discovery that a new light had come into his life."² "This light dawned upon him," says Mr. Stead, "in the privacy of his own room;" but the fervour of his prayer on that occasion would seem to have found stirring expression, for "Mr. Davis, a Newport Baptist, is the authority for the statement that Roberts was turned out of his lodgings by his landlady, who thought that in his enthusiasm he was possessed or somewhat mad; he spent hours praying and preaching in his rooms, until the lady became afraid of him and asked him to leave." His own account of his experiences at that time, is that one night, after he had been praying in great distress about (the failure of Christianity), he went to sleep, but waking up suddenly at one o'clock in the morning, he "found himself with unspeakable joy and awe in the very presence of the Almighty God," and for the space of four hours "was privileged to speak face to face with Him as a man speaks face to face with a friend;" also, that "it was not only that morning but every morning for three or four months,"

¹ *Ibid.* p. 25.

² *Revival in the West*, p. 4.

and that during it he "saw things in a different light, and knew that God was going to work in the land, and not this land only but in all the world."¹ And consistently with this conception of his call was his early preaching.

Roberts does not call his hearers to repentance, but speaks of having been called to fulfil the words of the Prophet Joel; "Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions." He tells the audience that he is speaking under the influence of the Holy Spirit, and he describes what he sees. . . . He does not speak much, but invites the congregation to sing, or pray, or read the Scriptures, as the Spirit moves them.²

And the following facts—the last of which, however, seems hardly credible—point to the morbid character of his temperament :

The truth about Evan Roberts is that he is very psychic, with clairvoyance well developed and a strong visualizing gift. One peculiarity about him is, that he has not yet found any watch that will keep time when it is carried in his pocket.³

Nor, if the truth must be told, are the contributors to the Nonconformist press unwilling to recognize the large part which nervous excitement is taking in this revival movement. They may dislike the name, but the thing they are disposed to welcome and to magnify.

It (is) nothing less than the Pentecostal blessing : "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your young men shall see visions. . . . Yea, and on the servants and handmaidens in those days will I pour forth my Spirit, and they shall prophesy."

So says Mr. Allworth Eardley,⁴ who is but voicing a conviction which seems to be general among his co-religionists.

So far we have been chiefly engaged in noting the facts, but it is time to form some conclusions as to the character of this tidal-wave of religious enthusiasm, which, after commencing in Wales, shows some signs of overflowing the ranks of Evangelical Protestantism throughout the kingdom. And in the first place we may clearly dismiss the hypothesis of a Pentecostal renewal. The miracle of Pentecost is a dangerous precedent under which to seek shelter, as many a previous

¹ *Ibid.* p. 42.

² *South Wales Daily News* for November 14th. See *Revival in the West*, p. 47.

³ Mr. Stead, *ibid.* p. 54.

⁴ *Methodist Recorder* for March 9th.

episode in the history of Protestantism testifies. Nor is it necessary to invoke so sublime a causality in order to explain phenomena which are readily accounted for by the contagious nature of enthusiasm—especially when it arises among populations which have been taught for generations to regard religion as an affair of the feelings, and to confound conversion with ebullitions of nervous emotion. For it is just there that we must look to understand correctly the nature of these Protestant Revivals. A “conversion” in the Catholic sense of the term is a very intelligible process, which puts no undue strain on a man’s nature or on any of his faculties or impulses. In its essence it is an affair of his mind and will, the emotions entering in only as subordinate elements to support and strengthen the action of the will. He is taught by his faith to distinguish between original and actual sin, and between mortal and venial. He knows that original sin is not sin for which he has to reproach himself personally, but an inherited deprivation of the grace which he has already recovered, or can recover, through Baptism. He knows that mortal sin is the only sin that slays the soul by depriving it again of this Baptismal grace, and that, if he should have been so miserable as to fall into it, then certainly he ought to bewail his own personal baseness in heartfelt sorrow. He knows, however, that even then there is no ground for despair, since, thanks to the merits of his Redeemer, the fountains of mercy are ever flowing, and he can be sure of forgiveness, not indeed with the absolute assurance of faith, but with a reasonable assurance which suffices to give him peace of heart, if only he has sought forgiveness at the right sources and with a sincerely penitent heart. On the other hand, he knows that it is possible for one who is watchful and prayerful to keep free from mortal sin for long periods together, or even through life, and that he need not therefore fear to have incurred its guilt, if his conscience, after a careful examination, acquits him of it. And as regards venial sin, he knows that, though it is an offence against God which is sad enough, and needs to be washed out by contrition, yet it cannot of itself exclude him from Heaven or expel grace from his heart, and hence cause him to doubt about his salvation.

A “conversion” in the sense of those who hold by the famous Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith, is a very different process, and does directly tend to put the severest strain on the nature of those who are passing through it. There are minor differences among the different sections of Protestants

who profess this doctrine; indeed it was over one of these differences that Wesley and Whitfield quarrelled and separated. But the Wesleyan form of the doctrine is the most general in England, and we may assume that it is in this that the mass of the Welsh revivalists have been brought up. According to this doctrine, the human heart, through the Fall, has become thoroughly depraved, so depraved that even those of a man's actions which in ordinary parlance we should call good, are in God's eyes sinful and displeasing—sin being primarily not in a man's deeds but in his personality, and from his personality communicating its infection to every desire, every utterance, every deed derived therefrom. The first stage of the deliverance from this state of fallen nature is held to consist in "conviction of sin," an awful process whereby the soul, however innocent may have been the perceptible course of its previous conduct, becomes conscious of its utter depravity, and at the spectacle is agitated with terror and anguish, and may even for a season be cast into the throes of an agonizing despair. It is an unreal process, since it ignores the essential relation of the contrition required to the sins really committed, and being unreal, it is only by violence done to nature that a man can force himself into its channel. At length, however, according to this system, the soul is led on to perceive that, after all, there is no need for this terror and despondency; that long ago Jesus Christ atoned for the sins of men upon the Cross, and that there and then they were all forgiven. Still, does there not yet remain something for the individual soul—something for this particular soul—to do in the way of preparing itself by suitable dispositions to obtain the application of that pardon to itself? No dispositions certainly, is the reply, for to suppose that would be to introduce the abominable doctrine of human merit. He has simply to "believe" that, not merely as regards the world in general, but even as regards himself personally, this forgiveness of sins has been purchased on the Cross, and is now offered him freely and without conditions.

It is this act of "belief" or "trust" in the Saviour's offer, which is held to constitute justifying faith, and it is this which is referred to by the question so common in revivals, "Do you accept Christ?" To a Catholic it might well seem that, assuming the truth of the doctrine that no preparatory dispositions are required of the candidate for conversion, there can be no great difficulty in an act of belief which would thus become

merely a belief in the reality of our Lord's promises. But this faith is held to carry with it a feeling of absolute security, of "assurance" as it is called, in the confidence of which the converted soul can ever afterwards look back to the time of its conversion without a shadow of anxiety or uncertainty as to its reality, and say "I know I am saved, I can date back my salvation to that day and hour." And here again occasion is given for religious exercises imposing the severest psychological strain on the person who is passing through the process. It is this feeling of assurance he is striving to obtain, in the belief that it alone is the infallible sign of justification, and he must pray, and sing, and groan, and entreat, working himself up into the state of nervous tension, until he can persuade himself that he has got what he sought. There is still another stage according to this system, in the process of redemption from sin. Justifying faith, it is said, causes God to refrain from imputing any longer his sins to the sinner, but they still continue to pollute his soul. The deliverance from this pollution is through sanctification, a process which may be sudden but is usually gradual—the reality which this part of the doctrine tries to explain, being the persistence even after repentance of the evil habits which have so often led to sin in the past, and may cause relapses in the future, but which can be eradicated in a greater or less measure by steady perseverance in the Christian life.

We do not need, in view of our present purpose, to occupy ourselves further with the process of "sanctification." As regards the nature of "conviction," of "faith," of "acceptance," and of "assurance," an illustration drawn from a famous episode in Wesley's ministrations will serve to show that the account we have given is not exaggerated. At Kingswood, near Bristol, he had established a school in 1748, for the sons of the itinerant preachers and others who were anxious that their children should be brought up on strict Christian principles. The rules were not practical, and Wesley was caused much anxiety in consequence. In particular there was scant success in arousing the boys to such a sense of conviction of sin as would lead to their justification on Methodist principles. One day, however, a new era seemed to have commenced for them.

They were taken [says Southey, condensing the account contained in Wesley's own Journal], to see a corpse one day, and while the

impression was fresh upon them they were lectured upon the occasion and made to join in a hymn upon death. Some of them being much affected, they were told that those who were resolved to serve God might go and pray together; and, accordingly, fifteen of them went, and, in Wesley's language "continued wrestling with God with strong cries and tears" till their bed-time. Wesley happened to be on the spot. The excitement was kept up day after day, by what he calls "strong exhortations," and many gave their names to him, being resolved, they said, to serve God . . . [They were urged] never to rest till they obtained a clear sense of the pardoning love of God, . . . and some of the poor children actually agreed that they would not sleep till God revealed Himself to them, and they found peace! . . . One of the masters finding that they had risen from bed, and were hard at prayer, some half-dressed and some almost naked, went and prayed and sang with them, and then ordered them to bed. It was impossible that they could sleep in such a state of delirium, they rose again, and went to the same work; and being again ordered to bed, again stole out, one after another, till, when it was near midnight, they were all at prayer again. The maids caught the madness, and were upon their knees with the children. This continued all night; and maids and men went on raving and praying through the next day, till, one after another, they every one fancied at last that they felt their justification. "In the evening all the maids, and many of the boys, not having been used to so long and violent speaking (for they had lasted from Tuesday till Saturday) were worn out as to bodily strength, and so hoarse that they were scarce able to speak." But it was added that they were "strong in the spirit, full of love, and of joy and peace in believing." . . . "Thirteen [says Wesley in his Journal] found peace with God, and four or five of them were some of the smallest there, not above seven or eight years old."¹

But the inevitable sequel came to expose the unreality of all this substitution of emotional excitement for the true action of a child's heart and mind under grace. Twelve months afterwards, we find the following notable entry in his Journal:

I spent an hour among our children at Kingswood. It is strange! How long shall we be constrained to weave Penelope's web? What is become of the wonderful work of grace which God wrought in them last September? It is gone! It is lost! It is vanished away! There is scarcely any trace of it remaining!²

Happy children! one cannot but exclaim as one hears of this their return to sanity, which left Wesley so inconsolable.

¹ Southey's *Life of Wesley*, Bohn's Edition, pp. 551, 552.

² *Ibid.*

Just fancy "children of seven or eight" being scared and terrorized in this fearful manner, and taught that thus only could they "find peace with God"!

This account of the Wesleyan doctrine of Justification, and of the incident which so strikingly illustrates its practical bearing may enable us to understand the true inwardness of what is now going on in Wales. It is acknowledged by those who sympathize with the movement that regrettable cases of hysteria are among its incidents, but it is contended that these are merely unavoidable concomitants on which too much stress ought not to be laid.

Of course [says a private informant whose words we may be permitted to quote], hysterically constituted people break down under the strain, and visionaries or fanatics take advantage of a fine opportunity for display. But the proportion of these is really very small indeed compared to the vast mass of intelligent, earnest, and well-regulated worshippers who commend the Gospel they profess. No revival that I have seen or read of since Wesley's day has been more manifestly awakened, maintained, and led by the Spirit of wisdom and holiness. There may be other spirits abroad beside the spirit of wisdom, but the servants of God know them and resolutely cast them out. When the waters of healing are stirred all kinds of funny things come to the top, and sink again—thank God! And blessed be His Holy Name, the sick are healed.

The writer of these words is a shrewd, fair-minded Baptist minister, who has had excellent opportunities for observing the present Revival, and we should wish that full weight be given to his estimate. At the same time he seems to miss the point which to our thinking is of essential importance. We readily grant that a small minority of hysterically-constituted persons, and of self-seeking persons prone to seize a fine opportunity for display, may be expected to intermingle with a majority animated by purer and more serious motives; and that the vagaries of this minority ought not to be debited to the main body. What, however, we have in mind is not these by-products, but manifestations which, though found in the well-intentioned people who form the main body of the "converts," are certainly hysterical, and yet have the full approval of the leaders of the movement, and are regarded by them as forming its choicest fruit. It is just on this account that we bring forward the Kingswood incident. Is there any medical man

who will not recognize in what there happened the morbid outcome of neural over-excitement and hysteria, and yet there were Wesley himself and his staff, highly approving and co-operating; approving and co-operating, too, precisely because the phenomena were such as their doctrine of Justification by Faith, led them to anticipate and hope for. And it is the same with the present goings-on in Wales, as the reports from which we have drawn testify in the clearest manner. Phenomena which any expert would set down to the strain of over-excitement, are welcomed and exulted over, and recognized as the effects of a truly Pentecostal outpouring. Take, for instance, the case of Evan Roberts himself. Here is a young man with what Mr. Stead calls a "strong visualizing gift;" in other words, a young man subject to delusions of the kind with which we are familiar in the victims of religious mania. He "finds himself in the very presence of God," "speaks face to face with Him as a man speaks face to face with his friend;" he conceives himself to be so palpably instructed by the Spirit of God that at one time he will refuse to fulfil his engagements on the plea that the Spirit forbids him, and at another professes to divine the secrets of hearts, and to know that grace is being withheld from the meeting because of the sin or opposition of persons whom, whilst withholding their name, he can indicate sufficiently by their office or personal characteristics. Is it possible not to feel that he is on the high road to *dementia*, if indeed he has not already reached it? And yet he is venerated by all these revivalists on account of these very aberrations which are dignified by the name of Pentecostal gifts. In view of such features in the movement it is impossible to sustain the contention that morbid excitement and hysteria are mere by-products, which the servants of God detect as such and forthwith cast out. Besides, as we have shown, the doctrine of Justification, which underlies all these endeavours after "conviction" and "assurance," tends essentially to put this undue strain upon nature, and so leads on to these unhealthy consequences.

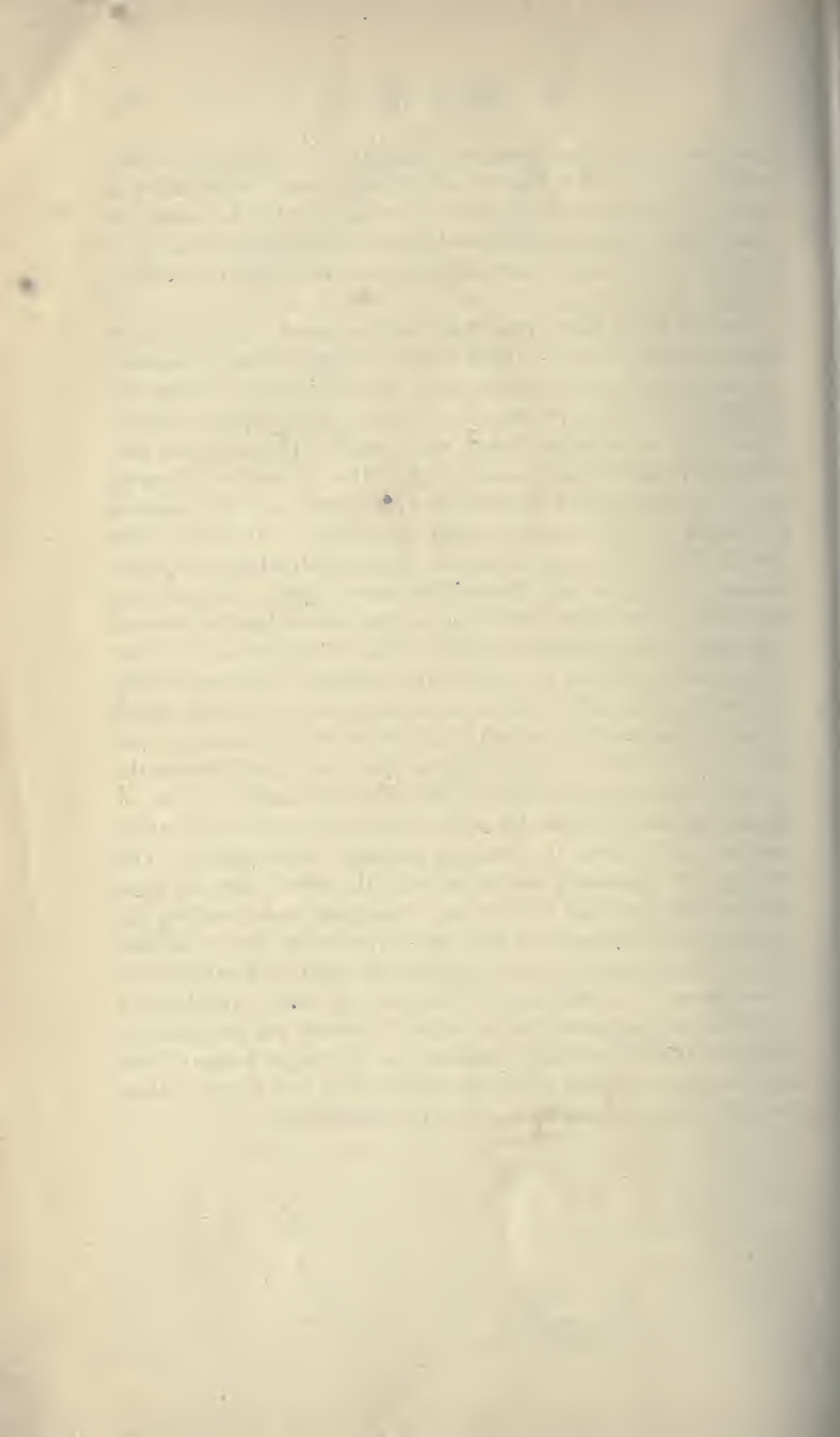
To sum up, then, the conclusions which a revival movement like the present appears to us to suggest. There is certainly much that is good in it. It originates in good, in the craving of the human heart for God, that craving which St. Augustine described so beautifully, when he exclaimed: "*Creati sumus ad Te, Domine, et irrequietum est cor nostrum donec*

requiescat in Te." It spreads through what is good, namely, through the response from other hearts which its initial impulses find on so large a scale, a response which reveals to us how that self-same craving is still living and active in multitudes of hearts, where its existence had passed unsuspected only because it had been crushed down by a heavy burden of superimposed worldliness and sin. And it is sustained through what is good, namely through the expansion of this instinctive craving which gains strength in proportion as it is fed by the contemplation of its object. We may hope too that, even if the mass of the "converts" should relapse into former indifference when the effervescence of the movement has subsided, there will still remain a goodly number in whom the reawakening of spirit and amendment of life will prove permanent—for after all instinct is often truer than theory, and many unconscious to themselves and inconsistently with the language of their lips, will be following the true lines of Scriptural conversion and holy living, rather than those which Wesley's theology dictates to them. And surely it is matter for thanksgiving that so splendid a testimony to the hold of Christian belief on British hearts should be provided just at the time when others are speaking of it as almost extinct.

At the same time commingled with all this good which is matter for consolation there is an amount of harm which is both unnecessary and deplorable. Unnecessary, because the Lutheran doctrine of Justification, which is at the root of it all, is by no means a doctrine of the Christian Revelation. Doubtless the phrase occurs in St. Paul's Epistles, and is there much insisted on. But it is only a shallow exegesis which fails to see that neither to the word "justification," nor to the word "faith" does the Apostle attach the meaning which is attached to them by Wesley and his followers. Indeed, Wesley himself would seem to have had his occasional hesitations about the doctrine, as is discernible, as in other passages of his writings, so in his allusion to Penelope's web in the passage from his diary where he laments the backsliding of the Kingswood boys. Nor was the doctrine an original element in his system, but was derived subsequently from his intercourse with the Moravians, who had inherited it from Luther—for it is not to be met with in the writings of Christian antiquity any more than in the text of Holy Scripture. The doctrine being thus without support from the sources of Revelation, there can be no defence

of a type of religious exercise which is so disturbing to the mental balance, but is wont to be justified on the plea that it is simply necessary in view of the divinely-ordered process of conversion—if, indeed, the bare fact that the process in question has this tendency, is not sufficient to discredit its imputed sanction.

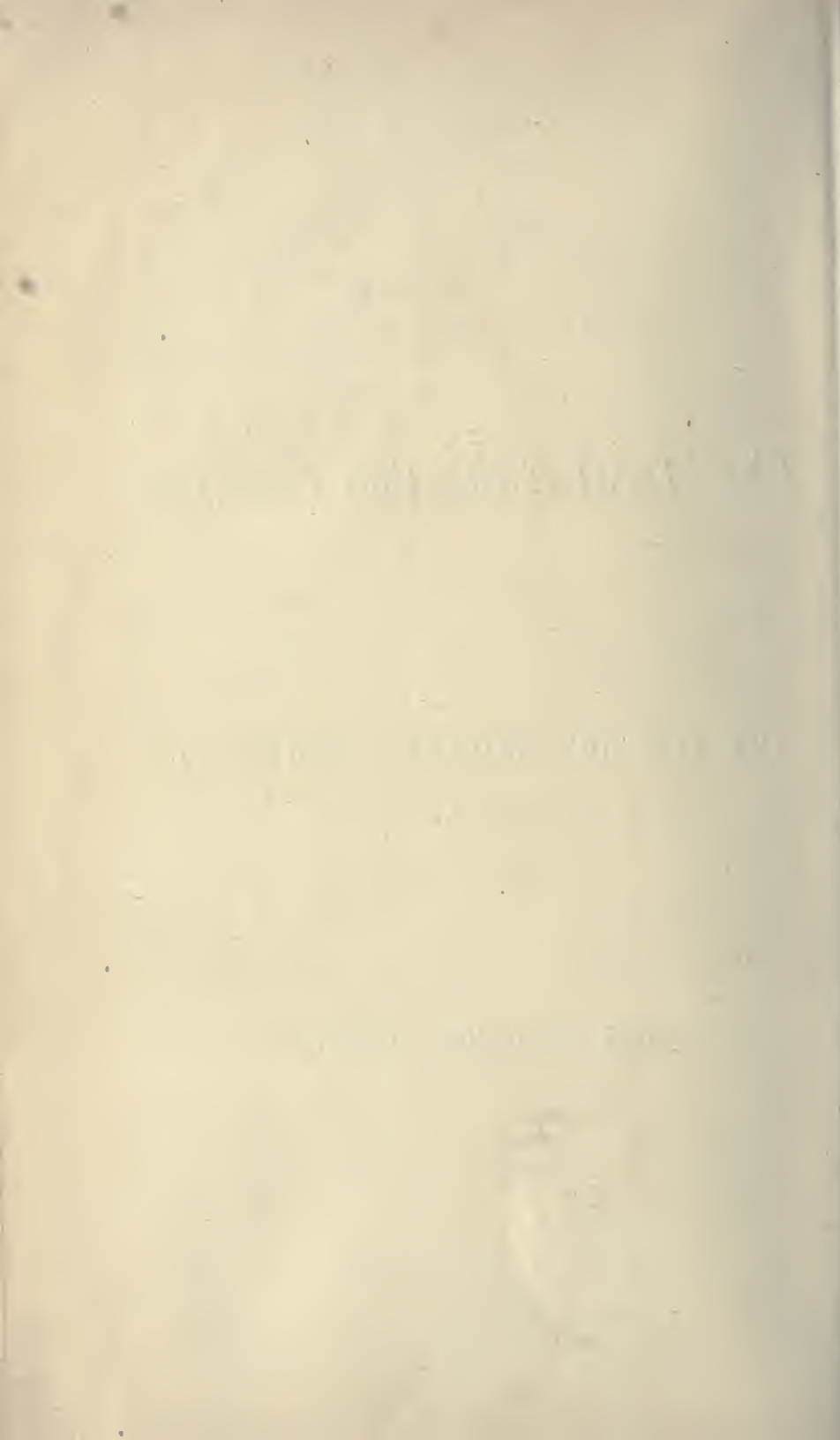
For the harm done in this way is by no means slight. Granted that downright *dementia* is the result in only a small proportion of cases, yet the revivalists have still confronting them the appalling fact that revivals in the past have been regularly followed by an increase of such cases sufficiently numerous and sufficiently specific seriously to affect the statistics of lunacy, and to be recognized by the general verdict of the medical profession as the necessary result of revivals. It was so after the revival of 1859, and it was so after the Moody and Sankey revival of 1873, as the Medical Reports testify. Around, too, this inner circle within which the evil influence has been most injuriously felt, there has regularly been a much larger circle composed of those in whom the disorders accompanying hysteria have required the doctor's care. Nor is it only these physical maladies for which the methods of revivalism are directly responsible. Appealing as they do so predominantly to the emotions, insisting so little on the calmer work of convincing the intellect by solid arguments, they lead up to resolves which have in them no principle of stability. For feelings are essentially uncertain; like the wind they are ever waxing and waning in intensity, chopping and changing in direction, and the resolves which spring from them tend to be like them in these respects. The convinced mind, on the contrary, is anchored to a bed-rock of truth which never can change; and though the good resolves which it evokes are not exempt from the liability to change inherent in all things human, they are far more durable than the resolves of the former class, through being grounded on so solid a foundation.



The Moral Education Congress.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Moral Education Congress.

SOME two years ago we called attention in these pages to the newly founded Moral Instruction League, and its scheme for separating moral from religious instruction in all the State schools, a scheme which it offered as the one possible solution of the present education controversy. Let it be recognized, it urged, that Cowper-Templeism is as much a "sectarian" creed as Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism, and hence as unsuited for establishment and endowment in the State schools; and let moral instruction on a basis independent of all religious belief be substituted. For, whatever be their differences in other respects, all good parents are united in desiring that their children should be trained to be truthful, honest, pure, unselfish, kind, compassionate, steady, persevering, temperate, and so on; they can then, on this basis, combine their forces for the end so much neglected under present educational arrangements, the effectual formation of character. The programme is a seductive one, but it was our duty to point out to its projectors that, as a basis for a system of homogeneous schools, it was open to exactly the same objections as Cowper-Templeism in the eyes of those who took their Christianity seriously. At the same time it was a pleasure, in that former article, as it still is, to bear witness to the fair and friendly spirit in which this new attempt at solution was being propounded by the League named.

Since that time, partly through the efforts of this League, partly through that of an international body with similar aims, a good deal has been done to promote the movement. In particular, mainly through its initiative, an inquiry has been instituted into the state of moral education in the schools of the world. On its invitation, several hundred persons interested in education constituted themselves an Advisory Council, and by this an Executive Committee was formed under the Presidency of Professor Michael Sadler, to which the control of the inquiry

was entrusted. Persons of all types of religious or non-religious opinion were chosen in a spirit of impartiality, and were invited to collect evidence and draw up reports of what was being done, and with what results, in the classes of school with which they were familiar, or regarding which they were able to acquire trustworthy information. Also, arrangements were made for taking the evidence of experts, and condensing it into convenient forms. In this way materials were obtained which have been recently given to the public in two thick volumes, to which we called attention in our last number, one volume being devoted to the schools of this country, the other to schools on the Continent of Europe, and elsewhere.¹

The first of these volumes contains thirteen papers on the "Roots of the Problem," that is, on the general questions concerning the quality of character which the schools should aim at forming, the predispositions which nature begets in the children, the relative functions of precept and example, and of the personal, social, and religious sanctions; also twenty-two papers in the form of reports on the methods of moral instruction employed and results attained under present conditions in the schools of the United Kingdom. In the second volume we have reports, twenty-four in number, on the state of moral instruction in France, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, and Germany; and, outside Europe, in Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. Of these reports nearly all the compilers are either English or from English-speaking countries.

The facts thus brought together will be of great value to all interested in the subject of moral or religious education, and the Committee which has conducted the inquiry deserves their best thanks. It is to be regretted indeed that the Catholic Schools figure so little in these reports, thereby conveying the impression, which is quite untrue, that they are inconsiderable in number or importance throughout the various countries examined. Mgr. W. F. Brown, indeed, gives some evidence on Catholic Sunday Schools; Father Michael Maher, S.J., contributes a paper on the methods of moral training in Catholic Schools; and Father Edward Myers a most discriminating

¹ *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools: Report of an International Inquiry.* In two volumes. Vol. I.: The United Kingdom. Vol. II.: Foreign and Colonial. Edited on behalf of the Committee by M. E. Sadler, Professor of History and Administration in the University of Manchester. Longmans, Green, & Co., 1908.

report on Moral Instruction in French Schools, based on fifteen years' experience in that country. If these are all the witnesses for Catholic Schools, the omission, we imagine, is due, not to any wish to exclude these schools from the purview of the inquiry, but rather to the reluctance shown by the administrators of Catholic schools to co-operate with a Committee whose ulterior purposes they suspected. If so it is not unintelligible, and yet we may venture to think it is a pity. Our schools are a *terra incognita* to the mass of outsiders to our faith, and it is partly to this ignorance that the incorrect notions as to their character are due. Perhaps if we did more to invite kindly disposed people to pay them occasional visits the effect might be to enlarge the number of those who, like so many of his Majesty's Inspectors, are much impressed by their success as agencies for the cultivation of good morals and manners.

Another important step towards the realization of these ideals was taken this last September when the first of a projected series of International Moral Education Congresses was held in London in the halls of the London University. It had been projected by the international agency, and was very successfully organized on behalf of that agency by Herr Gustav Spiller. In the preliminary circular which appealed for further support to this Congress it was claimed for it that "almost all the leading educationists of Europe, without distinction of religion or party, and a large number of the highest educational officials in many countries had responded to this appeal, and welcomed the holding of the Congress." And that this claim was not excessive may be seen from the list of the patrons, officers, general and executive committees, annexed to this circular, as likewise from the list of those who contributed papers or joined in the discussions—for the proceedings of the Congress were more or less fully reported in the daily press, and the papers were previously published¹ and taken as read, with the view to their more profitable discussion. Still it was noticeable that, although Catholic readers and speakers were not altogether wanting, their number was gravely disproportionate to the work done for moral education in the Catholic Church. This

¹ *Papers on Moral Education, communicated to the First International Moral Education Congress, held at the University of London, Sept. 25—29, 1908.* Edited by Gustav Spiller, Hon. General Secretary of the Congress. London: David Nutt and Co. 5s.

deficiency was obviously due chiefly to the causes already indicated as explaining the corresponding paucity of Catholic contributors to Professor Sadler's Inquiry, but again that there was no need for such fears was clear both from the amicable and even cordial reception given to those Catholics who were present (nor were these by any means the only advocates for religious education present), and to the carefully defined character of the objects of the Congress.

The Congress [said the circular in question] has a severely practical object in view—that of improving the Moral Education offered in school . . . The Congress restricts itself to a general survey of *school* problems from a moral point of view, leaving untouched the questions of Home Education, of Self-Education, and of Religious and Philosophical Education. Matters of School Organization, of Methods of Training and Teaching, of Discipline, of Direct and Indirect Moral Instruction, of the Relation of Moral Education to Religious, Intellectual, Æsthetic, and Physical Education, are to be treated of; and everything is being done to get the ablest specialists to read papers, most of which will afterwards appear in the Report, and form, so to speak, the first volume of an Encyclopædia of Moral Education.

The Congress will limit itself to matters which equally interest all who value the ethical aspect in School Education, without assuming that Religious and Philosophical Questions are not of importance in Moral Education, and without excluding references to Religious and Philosophical points of view. It is hoped that the Congress, by bringing, in a systematic form, the all-important problem of Moral Education before the educational world and the public generally, will materially contribute towards improving education in its relation to character and conduct.

An inspection of the programme shows, moreover, that the choice of subjects for discussion corresponded with this ideal. Thus there were discussions on the relative merits and deficiencies of day schools and boarding schools, of schools confined to children of one sex and those in which co-education of both sexes is practised; on the extent to which rewards and punishments can be satisfactorily employed, or that to which self-government by the pupils is desirable; on the ethical use which can be made of the lessons in history, mathematics, literature, music, and drawing; on the relative merits of direct or indirect moral teaching: on training to temperance, good manners, thrift; on the best mode of dealing with the problems of sexual purity; on the influence of heredity, and the possibilities of controlling it. These are questions needing to be

considered quite independently of the religious question, and it was instructive and suggestive to have thus brought together the opinions and experiences of distinguished experts who had considered them practically or theoretically. In our comments we must confine ourselves to two general points. The advocates of Moral Education on a purely secularist basis lay stress upon the method of direct as contrasted with merely indirect moral lessons; and they have already made a beginning towards equipping the teachers with appropriate patterns for such lessons.

At the Congress opinions differed much on this point. In elementary schools, in schools for younger boys, or for girls, the difficulties of direct teaching were not thought to be so great, but the representatives of English secondary schools, particularly of public schools, judged the idea to be most inadvisable. The fear was that the typical English boy, of fourteen or over, would receive such teaching in a spirit by no means conducive to its utility. As Mr. M. W. Keatinge, "Reader in Education, in the University of Oxford," put it somewhat pedantically :

The minds of boys from the prosperous classes are very critical and contrariant during the period of adolescence, and in particular they react strongly against ideas that are in any way connected with morality or conduct. It is on account of these contrariant ideas that so much of the moral teaching given remains inoperative, and, if its effectiveness is to be increased, the opposition of such ideas must be removed. This may be done in two ways : (1) The idea may be introduced by a teacher of strong character. . . . (2) The idea may be introduced so indirectly and gradually that the contrariant idea is not aroused at all.

Accordingly, it appears to be usual in the secondary schools —apart of course from the regular sermons in the school chapel —to avoid all formal talks on religion or morality except at special times as during preparation for Confirmation, or on special occasions as when some recent occurrence, public or private, has stirred interest and prepared the young minds for the pointing of a moral. In other respects the moral influences brought to bear in these schools are usually indirect, being largely due to the good tone and spirit which the masters try to keep up among the boys by personal counsels and examples. We who are familiar with the ways of Catholic schools, have some experience of the perversity of the English boy's mind which occasions this difficulty, although we shall probably be agreed that it is not a disturbing force in our schools to

anything like the same extent. But we must also bear in mind that direct instruction in moral and religious practice may be explanatory or exhortatory, and both sorts are required. The explanatory because it is necessary that boys should be taught, and taught systematically, these most important rules of conduct; and the exhortatory because it is not enough to enlighten the intellect, the will also must be gained over, and the heart touched. Moreover, we must bear in mind that, unlike ourselves, with our detailed catechism embracing in order all the fundamental points of belief and conduct, Christians of other denominations have usually no definite scheme of beliefs and rules prescribed to them by authority or general usage. Hence a regular course of explanatory lessons on these subjects is bound to languish, unless entrusted to teachers of high authority and skill. Still, one wonders why in the Protestant schools, if direct addresses on religious and moral subjects are found to be effectual during the preparation for Confirmation, other opportunities of a similar kind when they would be equally effectual are not devised. Why not make more use of Lent and Advent for addresses on the Great Truths, or of retreats which, if they are given by preachers who understand them, are welcomed by boys who enter into them very heartily? It is at all events thus that we Catholics meet the difficulty, and it is probably not Catholics only who will welcome Abbot Gasquet's paper in the Congress list, with its clear and succinct account of the methods employed in a Catholic Boarding-School. There is, however, another reflection which is suggested by this averseness of English schoolboys to profit by direct addresses on matters of conduct. Is not the chief cause to be sought in the tyranny over the individual boys of school public opinion, that not altogether bad but sadly disordered code which goes by the name of "schoolboy honour"? And if so, must we not trace back the root of the evil to that strange obliquity of English public opinion which, in its one-sided adoration of what it calls manly independence, has fostered this disposition of English schoolboys to be their own rulers and instructors in matters of moral conduct, and has relegated their masters to a dignified seclusion between which and the boy community the channels of communication are seriously obstructed? It is according to nature that the young should look up to adults, to their parents and masters particularly, for guidance and training in

conduct ; and, this being so, it would seem to be obvious that the relations between the two, if, even at some sacrifice of discipline, should be of the utmost ease and confidence. Then it might be hoped that the boys would be more prone to take gratefully the public addresses of their masters, and assimilate their principles rather than the crude principles of their companions.

Closely connected with this point is that of the open-heartedness with which the young, of either sex, should be trained to have personal recourse to their natural counsellors in their troubles and perplexities about conduct. This point came to the fore in the discussions on Purity in Section B. The proceedings of this section were not reported, but they yielded some sad testimonies to the extent to which solitary vice is prevalent in the ordinary English schools for boys. Not that this was needed, for the fact is well known to those who have investigated the subject. We may refer, for instance, to Mr. Edward Lyttelton's *Training of the Young in the Laws of Sex*, published in 1904. But what was the remedy? Many experienced teachers, we know, would say that there is none, that the disease is incurable. On the other hand, some educationists at the Congress were convinced that the evil yields at once to the simple expedient of the co-education of boys and girls in mixed schools. The Rev. Cecil Grant, of St. George's School, Harpenden, declared that "ten years' experience with boys and girls together had led him greatly to increase his estimate of the number of boys who can be brought to a secure standard of morality and of efficiency ; he believed now that, apart from clear cases of the mentally deficient, the 'failure' may be altogether eliminated." Mr. John Russell, of the Hampstead school of the King Alfred School Society, an out and out secularist, felt an equal confidence in this remedy, but the cryptic character of his language made it doubtful on what means in connection with it he relied. "What is the true remedy?" he said. "The rehabilitation of sex. Let us be men and women and not ashamed. Let us include in our much-vaunted reverence, reverence for the great Lord of life. Let Him be known and frankly honoured in the home, in the school, in the public places, not stealthily worshipped, flouted, or debased." Mr. J. H. Badley, of the Bedales School, Peterborough, was another of these optimists, but one felt doubtful whether any of them had sufficient discernment to penetrate beneath

the surface of their pupils' thoughts and conduct, for it does not require much experience to discover that many an English schoolmaster or schoolmistress lives constantly in a fool's paradise, in regard to the secret doings of the young people who look up to them with such innocent faces. That co-education for young children in day-schools may be free from risk we can readily believe, but it is a question of older children. For our part we feel convinced that Miss Cleghorn, of Sheffield, was nearer the truth in her warning that "the system of co-education in our elementary schools is fraught with much danger to the best interests of boys and girls from physical, educational, and moral standpoints, and local educational authorities would do well to pause and seek more inner knowledge of the working of the system before either building new mixed schools or combining the separate departments of old ones."

Others thought that the evil might be restrained, if not removed, if parents, or in their default, teachers, were less reticent with the young, and made a point of explaining to them beforehand the dangers to purity they might have to encounter in school life. Indeed, the majority of the speakers were of this view. It is a course in favour of which much can be said, but the problem is delicate, and we do not propose to discuss it here, and mention it only to add that at all events it is not enough. The young victims of these dangerous temptations need the support of prudent and experienced monitors not merely at the outset, but still more throughout the period of the terrible ordeal. It is this which makes it so important they should be enabled to break through the tyranny of the schoolboy code, and have free and fearless access to those who can sustain them with wise counsels. On this point, it was like a draught of fresh air breaking into the room when Dr. Sibley, the President of the Private Schools Association, gave an account of the systematic way in which he had successfully established these relations between himself and his boys, and by obtaining their full confidence, had been able to preserve, and even to rescue, many of them. Still, valuable as a method like Dr. Sibley's may be and is, it falls far short of that available in Catholic schools, namely, the confessional. In speaking to his confessor the Catholic boy is trained from childhood up to lay bare all his spiritual diseases in absolute confidence that no violation of secrecy will result, and that he has nothing to fear either from his

masters or companions. He is with one who will treat him as a father, who will listen to his tale, not to blame him, but to aid him ; who will always stand by him and lift him up, who will warn him, encourage him, and sympathize with him, appreciating his difficulties, and never giving him up though he should present himself again and again as a backslider. It is a matter of common knowledge that this is what happens in a Catholic school, and that the effect is, though the evil of impurity can never be eliminated altogether as long as human nature remains unchanged, that all but a comparatively small percentage of its pupils are preserved or recovered. Not that this result is to be attributed to the confessional alone, for there is the further aid of prayer and Holy Communion, which the secularist may regard as unreal, but which the Catholic child feels to be very real indeed.

But let us come to the question which believers in the Christian religion could not but regard as the most important raised in the Congress. An afternoon was set apart for the discussion of the "Relation of Religious Education to Moral Education," and those invited to write papers not unnaturally understood the question to be whether the two were separable or not. When the discussion began it was announced that this was not intended by the organizers of the Congress, but only that those who thought the two were inseparable should discuss apart the best modes of co-ordinating them. The announcement was embarrassing, especially as among those invited to read papers were such pronounced antagonists of all religious education as MM. Buisson and Moulet and Mr. John Russell. Fortunately the restriction proved impossible of observance, and the discussion, lapsing into the channels that had been anticipated, proved to be the one in which the keenest interest was taken. The three just mentioned were the chief but not the only partizans of secularism, and on the religious side were the Anglican Bishop of Southwark, the Rev. the Hon. Edward Lyttelton, Canon Wilson of Worcester, Miss Alice Ottley, Mrs. Sophie Bryant, the Rev. Joseph Morris on behalf of the Jews, and Prälat Tremp, Dr. Giesswein, of Buda Pest, and Father M. Maher, S.J., and Father Sydney F. Smith, S.J., on behalf of Catholicism. Some of these both contributed papers and spoke, some contributed papers only, others only spoke. It is not our present purpose to report this discussion, but only to state the impression it was calculated to produce on Catholic minds

when viewed as interpretative of the movement for banishing religious education from the schoolrooms ; and in this connection there is no reason why we should confine ourselves to the documents appertaining to the Congress ; we may reasonably take into account also those gathered by Professor Sadler's Inquiry. Indeed, they require to be taken together, for not only were the contributors to each in many cases the same, but the Inquiry supplies a certain array of facts, whilst the Congress itself in the place of these supplied a good many questionable assertions, which courtesy forbade one to contest during the discussion.

The most astounding instance of such unsupported statements was furnished by MM. Buisson and Moulet in defence of *l'instruction morale civique*, which, through the efforts of their party, is now *obligatoire* on the youth of France, not even the sorry protection of a Conscience Clause being allowed it. According to these gentlemen, this system was conceived with the tenderest regard for the consciences of all. "The State," said M. Buisson, "ignores religion precisely out of respect for the conscience of each individual. It has no more right, it has still less right, to put pressure, direct or indirect, in its relations with the children than in those with the adults ;" and in his speech he said, most emphatically, that in the schools nothing was allowed to be said by the teacher *ni pour ni contre* the religion of the parents. This is not exactly the opinion of the French Catholics, and in another article we may examine more fully into its accuracy. Meanwhile we may quote from *Le Volume* for May 2, 1908,¹ a few words from the pen of M. Buisson's friend and fellow-worker, M. Payot :

We have to expiate the error committed by the founders of *l'enseignement laïque*, who, not to frighten the adversaries, introduced this idea of a neutrality which experience shows to be impossible. . . . It is impossible to teach history, civics, morality, without manifesting preferences, and, as M. Bompard, the Inspector-General, said, "One does not comment on a page of Demosthenes, or Tacitus, or Pascal, without taking a part. One cannot be neuter between truth and falsehood. One must choose, and say what one is aiming at, if one is entrusted with the training of others."

It is a pity surely that M. Payot was not at M. Buisson's side at the Congress, and that the audience had not the advantage of hearing them harmonize their statements.

¹ We take the quotation from M. Fénelon Gibon's instructive article in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* for August 1, 1908,

We wish, however, to draw a clear distinction between these French secularists whose misleading statements were successful, we fear, in deceiving most of those present, and the English secularists who took part in the Congress. The spirit which animates the former is palpably one of fanatical hatred for the Christian religion and its adherents. The spirit which animates the latter, or at least the majority of them, is, we cordially acknowledge, very different. They are not like the Cliffordites, who resemble the French anti-clericals much more closely. Still, their ideal is a uniform system of State Schools, and, in face of the multitude of English sects and parties, they think it could be secured in a way fair to all, by leaving all religious teaching to parents and clergy to be given outside, and reserving for the schools those fundamental principles of morality which are common to all. Their feelings towards us are not unfriendly, and it is their sincere wish, and, we believe, would be their endeavour, to preserve a strict neutrality in the spirit as well as in the letter, in the schools where their system prevailed. None the less the proceedings of the recent Congress could only confirm a Catholic in his strong conviction that in schools of that kind Catholic children could not but suffer a real, if unintended injustice, and a very serious one. Let us explain why.

There was a general recognition at the Congress of the supreme importance for moral training of the personality of the teacher.

Professor Sadler in his Presidential Address declared it to be "of capital importance," and said that "a country which desires for itself an inspiring and invigorating education, will, if it allows itself to be guided by unmistakable evidence, do wisely to attach very high importance to the human element in its educational organization," and "will not choose its teachers by intellectual tests alone," but will "attach an even greater value to pastoral instinct and to the spirit of self-sacrifice than to the possession of a brilliant University degree."

And M. Leon Latour said finely :

One master succeeds astonishingly ; all that is in him aids in the education of childhood—his words, his acts, his gestures, his smile, his look—all produce an impression on his pupils which does not cease with the present, but lasts through life. Such educators are rare, but they have more empire over their pupils than the family itself, or the social atmosphere in which the child grows and develops. Whence

the secret of this educative power? It is because these educators love the child, are conscious of their power over it, understand their responsibility, have a clear insight into its moral constitution. And so their profession becomes a mission, an apostleship, and the sense of duty takes such a convincing hold of them that they cannot be wanting to it. To do good has become for them the ruling habit of their lives.¹

What, however, is most true, yet did not seem to be so generally recognized, is that in the teacher's personality, regarded as the supreme influence for moulding the pupil's character, not merely his pastoral instinct and spirit of self-sacrifice, or even his love of children and insight into their moral constitution, are operative, but likewise his opinions on life and its ideals, on the application of abstract principles to concrete cases, on the relative value of moral motives, on the attitude to be observed towards religion and theology. All these tell on the pupils in such sort that, whether he will or not, his influence over his pupils is that of a stamp on the sealing-wax. The impression made may be blurred or defined, light or deep, partial or complete, and—so far as the relation of teacher to child is concerned, in the cases in which the teacher is the trainer and educator, not a mere occasional giver of music-lessons or such like—it ought to be a defined, deep, and complete impression. It is when this truth is grasped—as it is grasped by those familiar with teaching—that parents who are in deadly earnest in regarding the true religion as the best and most indispensable inheritance they can secure for their children, scent danger and disaster when compelled to entrust their children to be educated by those whose opinions on life and conduct they intensely dislike.

Nor was it possible for a Catholic to be present at the Congress and not feel aghast at the strange vagaries of opinion expressed about life and its aims, about morality and its motives, about child character and the means of moulding it, which were ventilated at the Congress. Professor Muirhead approved of the secularization of morals, not in the sense suggested by the Moral Instruction League, of restricting the matters taught to such as all good people accept, but in the sense of "giving security to moral principle by detaching it from all dependence upon changes in theological opinion," and "preserving the purity of morality by exclusion of the ordinary appeals to superstitious fears;" and he desired to

¹ *Papers on Moral Education*, p. 195.

have a blending of positivism with a transformed theism taught in place of religion, referring us to one of his *Hibbert Journal* articles for "some suggestions as to the methods which may be employed in giving effect to [this theory] in the practice of the school." The anonymous "Secretary of the International Union of Ethical Societies" thought that "the only genuine moral motive and the most powerful one at the same time is the 'passion for humanity.'" Mr. Stanton Coit laid down "six effects" which he conceives "school education ought to produce within the mind of the child by the time he is eighteen." They embody the theory pure and simple of the materialistic school, and the last is a demand that "by the age of eighteen he shall accept as the essence of true religion reverence for the ideal [Mr. Coit's ideal, of course] of a perfected humanity, and devotion to the cause of its realization on earth." Mr. Allanson Picton claimed for the teacher that he should be unfettered by the restrictions of any syllabus in regard to the teaching he should give, but did not seem to think the child had any corresponding rights in regard to the teaching it should receive. And Mrs. Bridges Adams, as a delegate from the Social Democrats, rose up at the end to remind us that what her party demanded was that the moral instruction in State schools should be in the principles of Social Democracy. It was an opportune reminder of the ultimate goal to which under present conditions any uniform system of independent morality must tend. These few are but types out of the many which in one way or another revealed themselves at the Congress, and were combined with what to Catholic listeners were some quite astonishing displays of ignorance of the religious and moral capacities of children. If teachers of such types, one could not but feel, were set to teach one's children, if such were to be the stamp of which their plastic minds were to take the impress, there was indeed reason to fear for their constancy to the Faith whose impress is the exact reverse of all this.

Nor was this the end of one's fears for the children to be submitted to this State system. For in that system, as conceived by the advocates of secularism, the ideal should be for the schools for children to be supplemented by continuation schools, attendance at which would be obligatory up to the age of eighteen at least. Also parents should be organized into Educational Unions and Mothers' Clubs, that there may be systematic co-operation between parents and teachers. Such

institutions are in themselves good and desirable, but the thing to look to is that if they should be organized to the liking of the secularists, their chief office will be to indoctrinate the older pupils in the further developments of the secularist creed, and the parents too that they may co-operate in instilling it into their children. Thus all the avenues through which the Church should reach her children will be obstructed, and the lights of heaven will be extinguished, the State taking its place in every department of life, and becoming a big "Church of Humanity," which in the very name of tolerance shall be intolerant of all conceptions of life save its own. It is this, one felt, during the Congress, which looms before us in the future, should we as a nation accept the programme of purely secular schools; and the thought becomes still more appalling when we meditate on the character of the modern State. The secularist speaks of the State as if it would always be the very incarnation of high aims and pure morality. In our dreams it is easy to make all things fit in as we wish. In fact, the modern State's aims and principles tend to be the same as those of its creators, and its creators are the majorities issuing from general elections, those demoralizing processes, those bitter conflicts between opposing egotisms amidst the smoke of appalling misrepresentations, which disturb the country periodically; or again, this State is the servant of the prevailing public opinion, which in turn is begotten and sustained by an irresponsible and often unscrupulous press. At present, we gladly allow, there is a general spirit of justice and fairness in our State officials, so far as they are free from political pressure. The deteriorating process has not yet got so far with us as with some of our neighbours. But what of the future—when the lights of heaven have been successfully extinguished, and the lights of earth, being borrowed lights, have gone out too?

But we do not wish to end with these anxious forebodings. At the Congress a goodly proportion were not secularists, or only mildly so. Nor do we credit the more advanced with a clear foresight of these ulterior stages in the development of their system. Some may be realizing them and intending them, but the majority probably think only of the present, and outside the State schoolroom would wish to see the children resort with the fullest freedom to the religious teachers of their parents' choice. To them we would end by saying, with Dr. Giesswein

and the Anglican Bishop of Southwark who took up his phrase, "What we want is a *berührungspunkt* (a point of contact)." For we are all at one in the desire that our children shall be trained to a sound morality. The controversy is only about the method. The Bishop would seek this *berührungspunkt* in the recognition that "he did not want to be always affirming what others denied, nor did Mr. John Russell want to be always denying what he himself affirmed; they could sometimes meet on common ground, and it was not to be supposed that this was to haul down the flag." We are not quite certain that we understood his Lordship. We should prefer to say, let the *berührungspunkt* be sought in the recognition of three or four distinct types of schools. People who can be warm friends as neighbours, can become bitter enemies through living together in the same household. It is the same with schools. If our children are to be driven in herds into schools of the secularist type, there is no help for it, we must be irreconcilable enemies; for parents will never be reconciled to seeing their children's eyes blinded to the light of heaven any more than to the light of earth. If the several types may exist side by side, as they do now, we can engage in friendly competition and co-operation, and often take counsel together for the improvement of our methods in details. Perhaps this is what the Bishop meant.



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A Report on Moral Instruction.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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*A Report on Moral Instruction.*¹

M. GUSTAV SPILLER, the organizer of the Moral Education Congress which was held in London last autumn, has compiled "for the International Union of Ethical Societies" a *Report of Moral Instruction and Moral Training in Eighteen Countries*. It must have cost him much thought and diligence, and will be valued by all interested in the sound education of the young, for the stores of information it furnishes as to what is being done for the moral training of the young, and as to what are the methods and aims of those who wish to separate moral from religious teaching, and banish the latter altogether from the school-rooms of the world. Let us allow him to state in his own words what are the contents of this remarkably cheap volume of 362 pages.

Owing to democratic and other developments . . . the problems of Moral Instruction and Moral Training are coming to be regarded as first-rate social and educational questions. Under these circumstances there is need of a volume which plainly and exhaustively tells what is being done in respect of Moral Education all over the world, thus enabling teachers and authorities to profit by the labours of others in this difficult subject. To satisfy this need, the present volume contains in full most of the Moral Instruction Syllabuses and other ethical matter of the Schools of France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, the British Empire (including England, Scotland, Ireland, India, and the Colonies), the United States, and of many other countries. It gives a large number of references to the subject in the Education Codes of the civilized world. It sets out in detail the definitely ethical portions of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religions, instruction manuals of the principal countries, and offers in this way a comparative study of religious systems of Moral Instruction. In about forty pages of Notes it supplies the pith of thought contained in the best literature

¹ *Moral Education in Eighteen Countries. A Report on Moral (General and Denominational) Instruction and on Moral Training in the Schools of Austria, Belgium, the British Empire, &c.* With two Introductory Essays and an Annotated Bibliography of about 750 volumes. By Gustav Spiller. London: Wells and Co. 3s. 6d. net.

on the subject. And, last but not least, it offers an annotated Bibliography of some 750 volumes, embracing nearly everything that has been published on Moral Education. In addition, it furnishes a complete scheme of Moral Instruction (with special emphasis on methods of teaching) based on personal experience, varied observation, and on the study of several hundred volumes; and suggests reasons why the Churches should heartily support the giving of separate Moral Instruction. The volume may be regarded as complementary to the work published in connection with the Inquiry into Moral Instruction and Training, of which Professor M. E. Sadler was Hon. Secretary, and to that published by the First International Moral Education Congress (morally supported by nearly thirty countries) of which the present writer was Hon. Organizer.

The reflections which this Report suggests to us are far too numerous to be set down with anything like completeness in a single article. Nor is that necessary, for we shall have frequent opportunities of commenting on the details of this new secularist educational movement which is likely to occupy public attention for some time to come. For the present, we shall confine ourselves to a few general criticisms, with the object of emphasizing once more the motives which make it necessary for us to oppose a system which some of its advocates fancy we could embrace without injury to our religious beliefs.

We say advisedly "some of its advocates." Unfortunately there are many of them—and this has to be taken into account—who consider it to be one of the chief merits of the secularist system that it is calculated to injure religious beliefs. But Mr. Spiller is not one of these. He is a thoroughly earnest, well-meaning man, and it is due to him to acknowledge that he argues throughout in a perfectly courteous and friendly spirit, is solicitous to give to the extent of his power an impartial statement of our case, indeed, is inspired by a confidence, which is real even if it be unfounded, that he is offering us a solution we shall find easy to harmonize with the strictest requirements of our faith.

It is far from our intention [he says], as is evident from the purpose of this Report, either to favour or attack any of the religions or denominations. On the contrary, we would fain show that the leading Christian denominations could agree to the most modern ethical instruction being given, if they only chose certain passages from their Scriptures, and allowed those passages to be treated with the insight and liberality which has marked the treatment of the last six Commandments. Each denomination could then leave the social ethics to the

ordinary curriculum, *even in the denominational school*,¹ and deal in the religious hour with the theological duties. It would be no transgression against the fundamental creeds of the Churches to bring them into harmony with the modern world, any more than it was an outrage for the Churches to adapt themselves to the social conditions of the Middle Ages. For instance, only adding a slight emphasis on the exposition in the Austrian Catechism of the three good works, Prayer, Fasting, and Almsdeeds, we should get at least for the moral instruction lesson, aspiration, self-denial, and well-doing; similarly, self-reliance and co-operation could be taught through the emphasis of not leaving to the deity what we can do ourselves; the relations which should subsist between inferiors and superiors could easily receive a democratic interpretation; and, lastly, the revised Seventh Commandment, "to respect the property of others and give to everybody that which belongs to him," may readily be interpreted, if necessary, in a collectivist sense, for collectivists base their claims on the sense of justice. In a word, just as Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, re-interpret the Commandments, explain that sitting on the right-hand of God and the wrath of God are figurative expressions, just as the "Give us this day our daily bread," is mostly made to cover all the wants of body and soul, and as the six days of creation are explained to mean six periods of undefined length, so Christian and Jewish ethics could and should readily be made to agree with the ethics of States which possess manhood suffrage, and in which exists a robust sense of individual and social self-reliance. Under such circumstances, Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, might welcome the introducing of systematic modern moral instruction as a separate subject.²

And again—

Protestants, Catholics, and Jews live now together in peace. Why not draw the obvious moral and live in comradeship with all men who are earnest and desirous of doing good, following the dictum of the Roman Catholic Church and the Jewish Synagogue that the Ten Commandments or the moral law are both natural and revealed? We would put it to the various Western denominations: since a not unkindly feeling for one another has not endangered their fundamental beliefs, why should it be thought *that a Magna Charta of good-will towards all* should endanger those tenets? Every precedent is against that supposition, and statesmen who are anxious not to hurt the religious feelings of those composing the State, will go forward in moralizing and de-theologizing the schools, knowing full well that in the end no sect, denomination, or religion need suffer.³

¹ The writer presupposes here that the denominational schools are continuing to exist as they do at present. But his desire for the future is that they should cease, and that the only schools permitted, or at least State supported, should be wholly secularist.

² P. 16.

³ P. 19.

Still, if in these passages the essayist manifests a sincere desire to extend toleration to all religious beliefs, together with a sincere conviction that the secularist system in the form he recommends in no way infringes on these beliefs, he manifests also a notable failure to comprehend the realities of the situation he would create for us. Let us take the two quotations as a sort of text from which to hang our demonstration that this is the case.

Protestants, Catholics, Jews, and Secularists, he says, can live together in peace, and cherish kindly feelings for one another in the intercourse of social life. Why then should their tenets be endangered if they drew together a little more closely, and agreed to the proclamation of a "Magna Charta of good-will towards all"? Well, it depends on what is to be the nature of that Magna Charta of good-will. If we have reasons for believing that any class of our neighbours hold their opinions in good faith, even though we may regret their mental errors, we can cordially cherish kindly feelings towards their persons; and if between us and them there should be, as there mostly is, a tract of opinion on social and political matters which we hold in common, it becomes possible for us to co-operate with them politically and socially in many ways. But it does not follow that we can act together in all respects, or that a Magna Charta of good-will towards all could reasonably demand this of us. Our differences as well as our agreements have to be considered, especially if they arise out of deep-rooted convictions appertaining to the inmost core of our moral life; nor is co-operation possible between us and our neighbours of other modes of thinking where it is of a kind to require of us that we should treat these deep-rooted convictions as unimportant. Yet such is precisely the kind of co-operation which Mr. Spiller's scheme would require of us; for it involves that we should let our children breathe a scholastic atmosphere from which religion is excluded, and in which morality bears often a meaning very different from the one we ourselves give it; that we should allow their characters and their mentality to be moulded and baked by teachers whose ideas on the most vital matters are in our judgment most dangerous alike to religion and morality, teachers, too, who would often show downright hostility, and at best not concede more than a condescending courtesy, to the beliefs which, in the odds and ends of time abandoned to them, the Catholic parents and clergy were

endeavouring to implant in their children's hearts. In short, a Magna Charta enforcing this intolerable condition on the children of Christian parents, would inevitably prove to be a Charter, not of good-will towards all, but of fierce animosities and internecine discords, rending the unity of the countries in which it was introduced, as in fact it is doing now in France.

So clear is this that one might wonder why Mr. Spiller cannot see it, but it is because he gravely underestimates the value we attach to our religious tenets, and gravely underestimates the difference between our conceptions of morality and his own.

When we speak of morality [he says] we speak of something which by universal consent and acclamation is regarded as the *supreme* concern of man. According to the Roman Catholic Church salvation may be found outside its boundary if there is a sincere desire for truth and an ardent pursuit of virtue. . . . It follows that the Western world regards right conduct and right aspiration as the object of, and towering above, theological faith. That is to say, the true end of man's deepest yearning is expressed in devotion to the right. This or that religion or philosophy makes moral salvation easier, and should therefore, other things being equal, be embraced; but the reason for embracing it lies ultimately in what man deems the moral supremacy of that philosophy of religion.¹

If this passage means anything it means that in the judgment of its author we Christians are all pragmatists; that is to say, that we choose and embrace one particular form of Christianity not because we have satisfied ourselves that its doctrines express the truth and its institutions are of divine appointment, but because we have formed an opinion of the superior utility for moral ends of some particular religion, an *opinion* which, being such and resting only on our personal estimates, we ought, if we are duly modest, to regard as not too certain, seeing that others around us, of as good judgment as ourselves, give their preference to opinions of a different kind. Indeed, Mr. Spiller seems at times to credit us with regarding the comparative advantage of one creed over another, of one cosmic theory over another, as so slight as to be scarcely discernible, at least under this "supreme" aspect of its value for morality. This at all events would seem to be implied in his remark, after quoting two laudatory accounts of Chinese morality—"that non-Christian nations are not

¹ P. 25.

markedly different as regards conduct from Christian nations will, therefore, be *admitted*." But these are not our ideas. Were they so, how would it be possible to account for the invincible constancy, with which earnest Catholics (we may restrict ourselves to them) have in every generation held to their Faith as to their dearest possession on earth, not hesitating to sacrifice all earthly goods and earthly ties, and even to welcome death itself, and death under the most terrible forms, rather than surrender a single article of it? People do not make these sacrifices for mere *opinions*, and we must insist that those who ask us to co-operate with them for educational purposes shall presuppose it as an immutable fact that our attitude towards our Catholic religion is, and always will be, not an attitude of views and opinions which are of their own nature subjective and tentative, but one of absolute submission to objective truth, securely proved to be such by rational demonstration, or rather by revelation authenticated by rational demonstration. In other words, we hold to our religion not because it is one of many but because it is unique, not because it is superior to others but because it is the truth which the others are not, not because it stands best the experimental test of ethical value, though it does stand best that test, but because, being the truth, it must be the ethically best; we hold to it, moreover, not as a whole from which some portions can be removed and bartered away to facilitate good relations and close co-operation with others, but as a whole which is one and indivisible, and must be treated as such. Will any one reproach us for taking up this position, and say to us, "How uncharitable of you"? If so, it is because they mistake our standpoint, the standpoint which we have just defined. Opinions are relative, knowledge is absolute, and our position is that we *know*, and knowing, must act upon our knowledge. It is this, and this only, that we do. We must look to ourselves, and *knowing* that our religion is true, and therefore the best in every way, we feel that we must embrace it and practise it ourselves, and bring up our children to embrace and practise it too. As for others, we regret that they do not recognize and yield to the truth as we are trying to do. Could we move them to join us in recognizing and yielding we should rejoice, and should be prepared to spend ourselves and be spent in so good a cause. As we cannot move them by our expositions and persuasions, we can at least rejoice in every fragment of the truth which we

perceive them to possess, and on that basis combine with them in various forms of intercourse and co-operation—as long as the integrity of our own and our children's Faith sustains no injury thereby. It is hard to see why an attitude like this should be deemed by any one uncharitable; but, if it is, we must invite those who come to us with their schemes of co-operation at least to recognize the fact we do cling to this position, and shall never be induced to abandon it.

We have said that, besides misapprehending the value we attach to our religion, Mr. Spiller also misapprehends the difference between his and our conceptions of morality. For him, morality means only duties to self and to our fellow-men, and has nothing to do with any offices of religion; and he assumes that we too accept this definition of the term. But in this he is altogether in error, and the error is of consequence. In one sense it is true that we regard morality as the supreme concern of man; but we do so only if "morality" is taken to include the entire range of our duties towards our own and other personalities, that is to say, the entire range of our duties *towards God*, towards our neighbours, and towards ourselves. We are no Kantians, and hold firmly and justifiably that our mental faculties can, by the principle of causality, draw valid inferences as to the things that transcend the borders of the visible world. For us, therefore, God is an inexpressibly real Person, not less real but far more real than our fellow-creatures who live around us on earth; and, since He is our Creator and Ruler, our Father and Benefactor, our duties to Him must not only not be excluded from our code of morality, as though they were of purely secondary importance, but on the contrary must be set in the first place of all, and be lifted far above all the rest—so that, if by "theological faith", in the passage last quoted from Mr. Spiller's essay, these duties to God are designated, it is theological faith which "towers over" the other two categories of duty, not they which tower over it.

The influence of this distinction is far-reaching. As we have said of our religion, so we must say of our code of morality; it forms one complete and indivisible whole, in such sort that to remove from it any one of its constituent elements, or rather its chief constituent element, would be like removing the head and the heart from the human body, and leaving behind only the mutilated and lifeless trunk. It would be to

change the tone and character of the whole. Imagine a code of morality which excluded and ignored all duties towards the weaker sex. Mr. Spiller would agree with us that a code of that kind would be not merely incomplete but vitiated throughout. He would agree with us that those who adopted it must be devoid of that inner spirit and intention which imparts its specific value and merit to all moral action. And we (and he too¹) are similarly repelled by the French syllabuses and manuals of moral instruction which so noticeably omit, and, it is to be feared, disregard the obligations of sexual purity. If Mr. Spiller will reflect on the bearing of these analogies, it will help him to understand how very real is our feeling that a morality which fails to give the first place to the duties to God, nay, even excludes them altogether, is one which differs from ours not merely in the measure of its extension but in its whole tone and character, and cannot be accepted by us as suitable for the training of our children.

This is the fundamental motive of our antagonism to the secularist system, but it will be useful to apply it to one or two special points which are discussed in the volume before us. One such application is suggested by the contrast between ours and the secularist method which the collection of codes and syllabuses in the Report proper (which forms Part II. in this volume) enables us to study. Of the codes and syllabuses presented by the thirteen civil governments a few are predominantly, most are entirely of a secularist complexion. A noticeable feature in these official documents is the comprehensive and elaborate style in which they catalogue and graduate long lists of subjects to be taught to the young people in the different stages of their growth. It is difficult to illustrate this feature by quotations, just because it is impossible to give quotations of any length, but as Mr. Spiller—who holds that “for practical purposes the syllabus could not be too explicit or too comprehensive”—specially commends the French syllabuses for their fulness, the following extract from the syllabus for children of eleven to thirteen years may serve as a specimen of what we mean.

Talks, readings, practical exercises, as in the two preceding courses [for still younger children]. This course also comprises, in a regular series of lessons, the number and order of which may be varied,

¹ See *Report*, p. 228.

elementary instruction in morality in general, and more particularly in social morality, as outlined as follows :

1. *The Family*.—Duties of parents and children, mutual duties of masters and servants, *esprit de famille*.

2. *Society*.—Necessity for and advantage of society. Justice a condition of every society. Solidarity and human brotherhood. Intemperance gradually destroys these sentiments, by destroying the source of the will and of individual responsibility.

Applications and extensions of the idea of justice, respect for life and for human liberty, respect for property, respect for a promise made, respect for the honour and reputation of another. Uprightness, equity, loyalty, delicacy. Respect for opinions and beliefs.

Patriotism.—Man's duty to his country (obedience to law, military service, discipline, devotion, faithfulness to the flag). Taxation (condemnation of all fraud against the State). Suffrage (it is a moral obligation ; it should be free, conscientious, disinterested, and enlightened).¹

Incidentally, one may wonder if the person who composed these paragraphs had ever tried to teach a child of eleven or thirteen. But we quote them rather as exhibiting the feature of comprehensiveness. As a specimen of the manner in which this feature appears in the prescriptions on Method, the following extract from the Italian Code of 1905 may serve :

The general principle which the programme embodies consists in following the psychic development of the child from undetermined to determined, from simple to complex, from general to specific, from empirical to rational, and in adapting the precept to the knowledge the child has of himself and of the world in which he lives.

In truth the child has at first only notions concerning his own parents, of the family, of the house, of the master, and indistinctly, concerning other children and other men. In this first phase, which extends over the first two classes, the rules of conduct should naturally be generic, and concern obedience to parents, and to the master, kindness and love for companions, respect for others (specially for women and the aged), and for the property of others, helping the needy, pity towards the weak and deformed, the prohibition of lying and deceit. To these rules should be added practical precepts regarding the care of the person, behaviour in school, at home, and in daily life, politeness to every one, the employment of time, punctuality.

When the pupil reaches the fifth year of study he possesses already a good sum of empirical notions and practical rules, so that he is able to form a whole of his theoretical conceptions of moral knowledge.

¹ P. 213.

Now commences the systematic teaching, still elementary and practical, never philosophical and abstract, of human and civic duties and rights. . . . Ethical rules can now assume a more rich and determined character. Country is no longer an empty name, but a spiritual entity, towards which converge memories, glories, emotions, ideals, hopes, aspirations. . . .¹

By the side of these voluminous prescriptions, the instructions contained in the Catholic catechisms disedify Mr. Spiller, who is amazed at the paucity of the ethical matter they contain, and the jejuneness of the treatment accorded to it. He applies a quantitative test. "The treatment of the last seven Commandments in the [small] Austrian Catechism," he says, "occupies two pages out of the seventy-four, and of the various lists of sins only the seven capital sins are mentioned."² "Of the seventy-eight pages [of the Belgian Catechism] about one-tenth deals with more or less distinctly universal ethics. The heinousness, the repentance, and the punishment of sin form a never-ceasing theme; but, since sin has reference also to theological sins, the word is of little value as an indication of the neglect of moral duties."³ "The [English] *Catechism of Christian Doctrine* . . . is short, containing only 370 questions; it contains few of the finer interpretations of the Austrian Catechism, and the ethical portion, so far as detailed treatment comes into question, is not conspicuous. The last six Commandments are treated in the usual way in a little over five pages. Many sets of virtues are enumerated, but without explanation or commentary."⁴ In France "the elucidation of the last seven Commandments occupies in the *Catéchisme du Diocèse de Paris* eight, out of 189, pages. . . . The missing of good opportunities and positive good deeds is not referred to. . . . Justice, self-respect, social and civic duties, as all but passive duties, do not appear in the list of moral qualities. . . . Health, science, art, joy, progress, social good and strenuousness, are not touched upon."⁵

One explanation of this striking difference between the Catholic and the secularist syllabuses is the simple one that we prefer our Catechisms to give only the fundamental principles expressed in the simplest language, so that the children may commit this much to memory. But besides the simple Catechism there are explanatory Catechisms for the use both of teachers and children, and these are employed to give to the

¹ Pp. 260, 261.² P. 129.³ P. 143.⁴ P. 172.⁵ P. 229.

bare principles a suitable development and illustration. If Mr. Spiller will refer, for instance, to Gibson's *Catechism made easy*, or to Howe's *The Catechist*, he will find that a good deal more than five pages are given to the last seven Commandments. He will find too that we are by no means content to impart to our children only the bare names of "many sets of virtues," "without explanation or commentary."

We do not, however, wish to lay too much stress on this purely quantitative estimate. We grant, or rather we protest—be it said once more—that there is a radical difference of tone and character between Catholic Catechisms and the Secularist Codes, and we insist that of the rival methods we much prefer our own. What impresses us most in the Secularist Codes inserted in this Report is the tone of unreality which pervades them. The officials of the various Education Offices seem to have a perfect mania for composing by the yard these quires of grandiloquent platitudes, but what in the world is the use of them? You cannot hope to make your children moral by overwhelming them with torrents of grand talk. That may possibly suffice to put them successfully through examinations, and perhaps leave you open to the reproach that your most proficient students are also your greatest scamps. But to dispose them to right conduct you must move the will by touching the heart, and we must confess that after reading through all these Codes and Syllabuses we can find little or nothing likely to be conducive to this latter result. On the other hand we claim for our own method that, whilst refraining from all attempts to cram the children's heads with a surfeit of crude notions which at their age they cannot be expected to digest, it aims successfully at firing hearts with good desires and aspirations after "whatsoever things are just, or honest, or lovely, or of good report," whilst furnishing their minds with the flowers of the most delicate and refined type of conduct becoming to their age.

And here we must protest altogether against Mr. Spiller's rejection of the greater part of the contents of our Catechism as non-ethical. We have distinguished between two uses of the term morality, and have insisted on the wider use which includes the duties towards God. But even if, by way of argumentative concession, we accept for the moment the narrower use, we do and can claim that those portions which he rejects as non-ethical, are not only truly ethical, but the most intensely ethical

of all. For it is these which supply what is so conspicuously absent or ineffectual in the Secularist Codes, the driving power of morality, the power which moves the will, and by so doing obtains that the children not only know what they ought to do but love and strive to do it. It may not be possible for those who have no interior experience of the working of our Catholic system, of its doctrines and its practices, within the child's heart, to comprehend the secret of its power for righteousness; and it is to this lack of insight we must ascribe it that there are "psychologists who [think they] know too well how easy it is to be sincerely repentant to be surprised that the confessional—which need only be entered once a year [but happily is entered by the mass of our children once a month or even oftener]—and confession fail to make a profound impression on most persons." We pastors and people, confessors and penitents, parents and children, may claim to have a fuller and more intimate experience of these phenomena than psychologists of the class indicated, and our unhesitating testimony is that the practice of regular confession, when built on the assimilation by mind and heart of those parts of the Catechism which are declared to be "non-ethical," and completed by the practice of regular Communion, does make a most profound impression on most persons who adopt it, and particularly on most children. The results, in fact, of this assimilation of the "non-ethical" parts of the Catechism, and of the consequent frequentation of the sacraments by our children, are most consoling. Little fear in their case that the most proficient among them should prove to be the greatest scamps of all.

Another feature in Mr. Spiller's introductory essays which cannot but impress a Catholic reader is the frequency with which he fails to understand what we mean by the various points of our moral teaching. It is a subject which cannot be adequately discussed in this article, but we may refer to a characteristic instance which is furnished by the following passage :

Spontaneous love for others is commonly ignored [in most Protestant and Catholic manuals], even though the Founder of Christianity expressly placed the love of one's neighbour on an equality with the love of God, and though St. Paul said that "he that loveth his neighbour hath fulfilled the law," and that "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" sums up the Commandments. Speaking generally, one could not gather from the ordinary catechisms,

manuals and prayer-books that a direct love of one's fellows was conceivable, in spite of the fact that there is no more patent human experience than such love.¹

"Just fancy!"—will be the exclamation of the plain Catholic reader, unfamiliar with secularist literature, when he comes across this to him incomprehensible paragraph—"What in the world could have led the writer to so strange a conclusion?" But a sentence on the previous page explains. "Since," we there read, "loving one's neighbour is usually defined [in the Catechism] as loving one's neighbour for Jesus' sake." What is meant is that when you love your neighbour for Christ's sake, you are not really loving him, but only treating him as the means to an end; just as you could not be said really to love the dentist's forceps, though you love it as a means for procuring rest from the pain of tooth-ache. It is an idea which is common no doubt among secularists, and we have heard it expressed thus in a counsel given to a hospital patient whom a Sister of Mercy had been tenderly nursing. "Do not think it necessary to be grateful to her. She is not doing it out of any love for you. She is doing it only for the selfish purpose of meriting a big crown of glory in Heaven." But, apart from religion, it is quite a common thing on earth for a father, for instance, when sending his son to some distant land, to say to an old friend there residing: "Do promise to love my boy for my sake." Yet no one supposes that the friend's ready response to such an appeal would incapacitate him from loving the son directly. Rather it would move him to do so. If the son proved to be of kindred sentiments with the friend, and of a lovable character, the latter might find it easy and natural to love him for his own sake, independently of the love borne for the father. But the love borne for the father would always tend to strengthen the friend's love for the son, and, if the son proved unsatisfactory or ungrateful or unpleasing, the thought of the father's appeal might cause the friend to stand by him and bear with his defects, in other words, to continue towards him a love of friendship which otherwise would have long since been withdrawn. This is how we should solve the objection raised to our doctrine on this point. We do not, however, wish just now to press this solution on Mr. Spiller. What we do wish to press upon him is the following consideration. He invites us to accept his plan of a common system of schools

¹ P. 14.

in which our children would be taught by secularists their independent morality, and he strives to reconcile us to this plan by contending that there is practical agreement between us and him in regard to the whole field of morality. Yet now we find him—in this instance and many others like it—revealing the radical differences on the most vital points between his conceptions of morality and ours. We would press upon him that in making such revelations he is simply refuting his own thesis, and confirming us in our conviction that in entrusting our children to be trained in his schools, we should be exposing them to the gravest dangers, not only to their faith, but also to their morality—as we understand the term. Moreover, he only increases our fears and aversions when he claims for his secularist teachers an unfettered liberty of stating their views on all the implications of their moral philosophy. In face of such a paragraph as the following, it is impossible to plead that there is no danger of intrusion on the domain of religion.

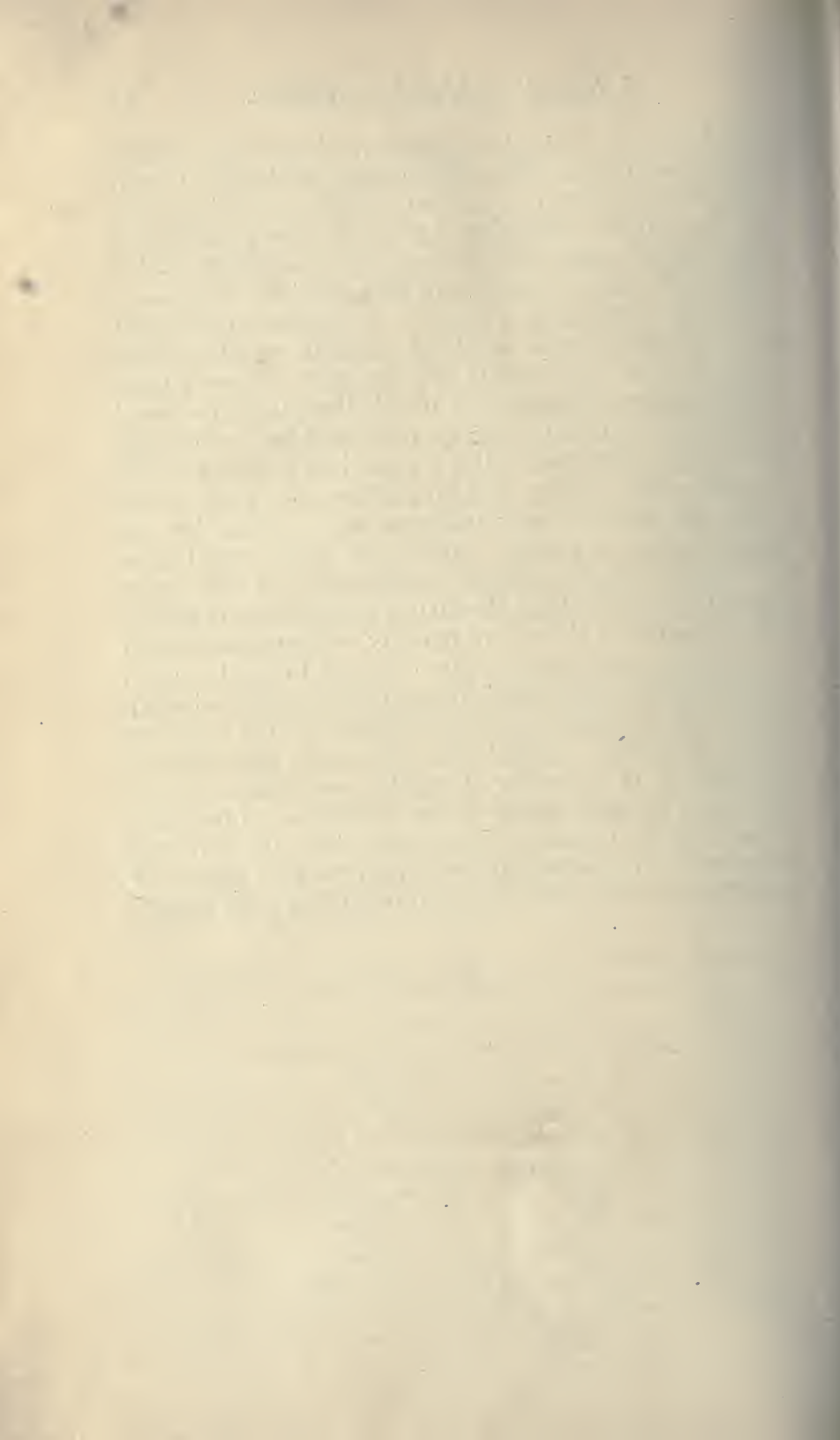
Nor could we entertain . . . the suggested compromise that the teacher of ethics should avoid touching on the question of the sanctions to or the motives of the moral life. For the sake of ethics and the teacher of ethics, we must say: Either no ethical teaching by the State, or else an ethical teaching which is as unrestricted as the teaching of science. Once we begin to lop off branches from the ethics to be taught—once we say, for instance, that only the elementary ethical ideas are to be communicated—it is difficult to tell where the process of mutilation is to cease. A mangled ethics would be appreciated neither by the teacher nor by the child.¹

In what we have been saying we have limited ourselves to explaining why, contrary to Mr. Spiller's anticipation, "the State," if it should set itself to "develop a non-theological system of moral instruction," is never likely to have the hearty concurrence and co-operation, but will always have the determined and conscientious opposition of the Churches, or at all events, of that one Church which surpasses all the others in its extension, its antiquity, its toughness, and its clear comprehension of the necessities of its vigorous life.

And now in conclusion, we would put it to Mr. Spiller, whose honesty of purpose we have already acknowledged, why should he, and those who are associated with him, wish to see his system imposed on those who, like ourselves, are so firmly

¹ P. 38.

opposed to it on conscientious grounds? If there are parents who believe in his system and anticipate good from it, let it prevail by all means in a type of schools provided for their children. But why wish to see it prevail in schools attended by children whose parents are not less firmly convinced that its outcome will be the uprooting of their religious faith, and a fearful deterioration of their morals? It is useless to argue that the State must impose secularist morality on all schools, because it is the only kind of morality it can impose without unfairness to any, and because it "is only likely to get the moral instruction it wants and needs, if it itself provides or completely controls such instruction." It is best in these matters to speak out plainly what we feel, and Mr. Spiller will excuse us for saying that this argument impresses us as being less an argument than a pretext. The State could not impose *that* kind of morality without unfairness to us and many others. On the other hand, the State is quite capable of getting what it requires in the way of morality without unfairness to any, by doing what it does to some extent in England, namely, by encouraging, aiding, and in part controlling voluntary agencies which possess the full confidence of the respective classes of parents. Indeed, the State can gain its only legitimate end in the matter of morality much better in that way than by its direct action in the schoolroom, for the State, to judge by the experience of the past, is, in the inevitable woodenness of its methods, the worst, not the best, agency for imparting by its direct action a moral tone to the schoolroom.



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The Future of Religious Education.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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THE SCIENCE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE SUBJECT

BY JOHN H. COLEMAN

The Future of Religious Education.

THERE is a lull in the campaign against our schools. The slow pressure of administrative hostility is continuing its destructive work on some of the weaker members of the system, but the legislature, and the organs of political opinion, have diverted their attention to other subjects. Still, the danger is by no means over, and it is well that we should keep our eyes not merely on the manœuvres of the politicians, but still more on the deep-lying influences by which the future of English religious education will ultimately be determined. Professor Michael Sadler, in his recent presidential address to the Teachers' Guild, has treated this subject with an insight which makes his words well worthy of our careful study; a study to which we can turn with all the more willingness, as he is not only an educationalist whose opinions are heard with deference, but also one who has shown a sympathetic interest in Catholic schools, and is anxious to preserve for them a permanent place in the national system.

He groups his thoughts in three divisions: (1) the present conditions of the problem; (2) the permanent needs of the case; (3) a forecast of the future. Let us follow him through his exposition of these thoughts, adding as we go along such observations as occur to us.

Present conditions of the Problem.—Here in the first place, under the title of Psychological influences, he sets down the gradual weakening of religious convictions which is so noticeable a movement of the age. In the face of all that has been written and popularized, during the last half century, on behalf of rationalism and materialism, men are asking themselves all round whether the Christian beliefs they have inherited from their parents can be justified by reason. So far they are loth to abandon them altogether, and are pleased to observe the hold they continue to have on many really intelligent persons—for they cannot but appreciate in them their proved efficacy

in moulding and strengthening moral character, particularly in the case of the young.

The spirit of the age has brought into our thoughts about religion a wider sympathy and a wistful regret. We are sensitive to the beauty, the austere grace, of a life which is under willing obedience to a rule of faith. We feel towards it as towards a precious tradition in an art. Violent destruction of it would be a barbarism, a sacrilege. When it asks of us the right to live and work in quiet fulfilment of its task of service, we have no heart to refuse. The fierce desire to eradicate from the world that which we cannot approve as intellectually true finds no place in our mind. We are not merely tolerant, but respectful, of beliefs which we cannot ourselves accept, when we see them giving steadiness of moral habit, still more when we see them transfiguring motive, cleansing character of dross and defilement, and bringing rest to tense and harassed minds. And we admire the force of will and directness of aim which come with clear conviction. Even when we deplore or condemn what is done under its mastery, we are impressed by the power and decision which it imparts to speech and action.

Still, if minds harassed by religious doubt may hesitate to disturb a mode of teaching which yields these edifying results, they may none the less be led by the very spectacle of these results into channels of reflection which will prevent them from offering serious resistance to the substitution of a new order. "These differing forms of religious belief," they may say, "seem to have a uniform success in the fashioning of virtuous characters. Can we not feel our way to something that seems to lie behind them all, giving to each its power for good commingled in each with much that makes for evil"? And may we not hope that when found we may be able to release this precious element from the evil habitations which confine it? For our part, we may think that the religious methods which are working side by side in our English schools are not so uniform in the success of their moral output, but we must allow that observers of the class indicated think them so; and that, being of this mind, it is natural for them to view with favour a movement like that of the Moral Education League, which claims to have discovered and disengaged that something that lies behind, and found it to be a serious and systematic inculcation of the principles of independent morality.

In the next place among the influences pointing either to the excision of the religious lesson, or else to a radical alteration of its character, Professor Sadler sets down the growth and

spread of the scientific spirit. By this term is of course meant the spirit which impels minds to rest satisfied with nothing short of reality, and hence to be intolerant of beliefs and systems which cannot ground themselves on this sure foundation, and suspicious of prejudices and pre-conceived notions as calculated to obscure the clear vision of the facts. It is called the scientific spirit, because it is generally supposed that the rigidly objective methods of modern scientific research have been chiefly instrumental in cultivating it. We know how in its name the Christian religion is divested of the immunity from criticism which it is (wrongly) supposed to claim as its privilege; how it is dissected, and its manifestations are correlated with what are deemed to be kindred phenomena, and how as the result of this process it is declared to have nothing unique about it which can entitle it to rank as a divine revelation. If we understand Professor Sadler rightly, he thinks that this scientific spirit, which has operated with such deadly results on the religious beliefs of the cultivated classes, will not much longer suffer the religious teaching given to the nation's children to escape from its purview. The ordinary Englishman readily accepts a dualism of thought; he is content to reason in one way about all other subjects, in another way about religion, and is not much troubled because the effect is to fill his mind with conflicting notions. But this happy-go-lucky method, which has so far presided over the formation of religious syllabuses, must soon be discarded, and then the religious lesson must either perish altogether or be re-shaped to the exigences of the new ideas.

Professor Sadler hopes that it will be retained, if even in a form not widely differing from that at present in use; and he claims this in the very name of the scientific spirit.

Physical studies are accustoming us to a conception of the universe which is far removed from the stiff and imprisoning materialism of an earlier stage. The biological view of human development prepares us to assign to spiritual forces, to will and faith and self-sacrifice, a great part in the furtherance of the individual and social welfare of men. It has thrown emphasis upon the corporate view of human life, upon the interdependence of the several parts of the social organism, upon the moral elements in associated effort. Psychology presses upon our notice the power of belief, of self-surrender, of obedience to an ideal. And, under the influence of scientific method, historical and anthropological studies have thrown new light upon religious development, have set the records of the spiritual experience of mankind in truer

perspective, and given a new significance to our study of the Bible. Coherence and unity begin to form where once was discontinuity of thought and discord of presuppositions. . . . Thus there is emerging from the study of natural science a temper and attitude of mind intimately favourable to religious thought, and adverse to any plan of early education which would exclude from the child's training help in learning to notice and become familiar with the facts of spiritual experience.

Still, though he pleads thus in the name of the scientific spirit that religion may retain its place in the State schools, he foresees that this may not be. He fears the tragic possibility that "some uprush from below of opinions generated by a crude and now discarded materialism may sweep for a time from education much that the true leaders of scientific thought would, on the whole, prefer to leave there than roughly to discard."

Here, again, after making the distinction between what is likely to be and what we should wish to be, we must think that Professor Sadler rightly traces the path along which we are moving. Still, it is well for us to reflect also that a refashioning of religious teaching in this sense would tend to be of a nature more repellent than attractive to those who, like ourselves, plead anxiously for the right to bring up their children to the Christian religion. One of the most recent projects in France is to force on the school children manuals of what is euphemistically called the science of religions. Needless to say the object of these manuals is not to impress on the children the importance of religion for the guidance of life, but to induce them to despise it as a useless and obsolescent superstition. There is another movement in our own country which does not go so far as that, but which would reconstruct the Christian religion on the principle of extracting from it those features of a supernatural character which modern science and philosophy are thought to have discredited. Either of these species of religious teaching we should view as calamities were they to find entrance into our schoolrooms; but is there not a solid danger lest one or other, or both of them, should enter if "the scientific spirit," as some conceive of it, is allowed to regulate the religious lesson?

In the third place, as threatening the present form of the religious lesson, Professor Sadler sets down certain "changes in Administrative Outlook and Political Opinion." The teaching profession has learnt to resent as an outrage on the religious

freedom of its members all such existing conditions as interfere with the independence of their religious teaching. This, again, taken as a simple fact, is undeniable, as is also the impropriety of requiring from a teacher that he should teach what he does not interiorly believe—or even that he should be hampered in the full expression of thoughts and feelings which are the living source of his religious earnestness. Hence the motives are intelligible which induce Professor Sadler to pronounce impressively that “upon the real freedom of the teacher to give, if there is occasion for his services, that religious teaching of the truth of which he is firmly convinced, the future of religious instruction in schools largely depends.” Still, no educational system can be really satisfactory which does not allow for the rights of the children’s parents as well as for those of the teachers. We should prefer, therefore, to modify—or, shall we rather say, complete—the thought of this pronouncement by wording the sentence thus: “Upon the distribution of the teachers among the schools in such sort that they can give the religious teaching of which they are firmly convinced, whilst at the same time meeting the religious requirements of the parents, the satisfactory future of religious instruction in schools largely depends.” Nor do we think, judging from what he forecasts lower down in his address as desirable arrangements for the future, that Professor Sadler would dissent from the terms of this modified sentence.

At this point the lecturer indicates four other changes which he thinks have “strengthened the position of religious teaching in our national education.”

(1) The services which the denominational schools have rendered and are rendering to the cause of education, in town and country, are better understood now than they were forty years ago, and are proportionately valued. In 1870 it was anticipated that before long the superior merits of the Board Schools would have so clearly demonstrated themselves that even the most resolute maintainers of Voluntary Schools would feel that they had no reason to stand out from them. This anticipation has not been fulfilled. On the contrary, the Denominationalists have grown all the more attached to their schools, whilst—but this is our observation, not Professor Sadler’s—parents who have no inclination to accept the creed of these schools, are found in appreciable numbers to prefer their humble shelter for their children, on the ground that their method enables them to teach better manners.

(2) Professor Sadler sets down a cause, which, as it refers to our Catholic schools, we had better let him describe entirely in his own words.

For a variety of reasons the Roman Catholic claims are more fully recognized in English political and social life than was the case forty years ago. The House of Commons is more responsive to Roman Catholic arguments; the Board of Education is well acquainted with the devotion and skill of many of the Roman Catholic educators. The result is that whoever surveys the educational position in England has to take account of the tenacity of the Roman Catholic Church in maintaining the schools which are under its own influence and control. It would be no easy task for any Government to withdraw all grants of public money from the Roman Catholic schools in London and Lancashire. And this fact has a wide bearing, because few English people would now propose to grant privileges to one religious community which were denied to others.

We must thank the writer for these words, and may we not also congratulate ourselves on the success with which we have convinced our legislators, not only that our claim to keep our own schools must be respected, but that, as long as we are left to conduct them, no effort on our part will be spared to make them as efficient in secular subjects as are the other schools—so far, that is to say, as devotedness and skill can supply for the want of the long purse. One further observation on the last sentence in the passage quoted may not be amiss in this place. Not that Professor Sadler himself in any way needs it, but because two constructions can be set upon the sentiment the words express, only one of which is just. The exceptions we demand for ourselves as indispensable if the religion of our children is not to be undermined, we demand likewise for all other classes of parents, so far as they demand them for themselves. This is one possible construction of the sentiment, and the just one. The other construction, which is sometimes given, runs thus: "Exceptions that we do not require for ourselves we decline to have granted to others." Against this dog-in-the-manger construction we shall always protest.

(3) There is a growing tendency towards interdenominational effort in social work at home, as in the mission field abroad. Assuming that the dissensions and jealousies among the different Christian bodies (we do not think that jealousy enters in, so far as we are concerned) are what have led to the

secularizing of the schools, Professor Sadler hopes that this growing disposition to co-operate for some purposes may be carried further, and lead to the acceptance of a common form of religious teaching in the State schools which will satisfy all. Here, we must confess, we cannot follow him. So far as the different Nonconformist bodies are concerned, have they not already united in this way, and is not the Cowper-Temple platform their accepted syllabus for this purpose? It is, too, quite intelligible that they should unite in accepting it. We may be amazed that they should consent to leave the teaching of this syllabus to teachers chosen without reference to their attitude towards it, but the syllabus itself corresponds entirely with the *quantum* of religious doctrine which Nonconformists think desirable and sufficient for children, and do not pass beyond even in their own Sunday schools. Still, the attainment of this agreement among the Nonconformists has not moved the Church of England, at least as a whole, to wish to enter into it; nor is it at all conceivable that we Catholics should consent to enter into it. And the reason is not so far to seek. Differences of religious denomination may imply radical differences of religious life, or mere differences (if the figure may be permitted) of religious war-paint. The differences which divide the Nonconformists among themselves, are mainly differences of war-paint; in religious life these communities are identical. On the other hand the differences which keep apart Nonconformists and High Churchmen, or Protestants of all classes and Catholics, or again—to take the term “religious” in its broader sense, as designating a man’s attitude towards the ultimate issues of human destiny—the differences which keep apart Christians and Agnostics, are radical differences of religious life. When this distinction is borne in mind it will appear why these various classes—though they may respect one another and readily co-operate for social objects which are unaffected by their differences—can never be resigned to the co-education of their children with other children, under teachers of other faiths than their own. For, however much the children may be set apart at certain hours, in different rooms or corners, to receive different types of religious lessons, the religious life of the school remains one and the same, being determined by the religious proclivities of the teachers, at all events if they teach in full accordance with what they interiorly believe—and if

they do not do that, then the religious life of the school is of the indifferentist type.

(4) There is a growing feeling that the strengthening of the moral character, which has hitherto been sadly neglected in the State Schools, should rather be deemed the first end of all for the teacher to pursue. Professor Sadler reckons this to be another influence working for the retention of the religious lesson. Not that all who share this feeling wish to see the religious lesson retained, but because so many have noted the singular power of religious influences in "giving that firm view of life which, on the intellectual side, is one of the safeguards of sturdy character." This is a consideration that has come up before. We could wish that it might receive the reflection it deserves.

Against these influences which, in Professor Sadler's opinion, are working for the retention of the religious lesson, in some form or other, as a vital element in the syllabus of the future, he notes four other causes which are working for its abolition.

(1) First comes the contention that teachers are public servants, and that it is as incongruous for them as for any other public servants to be called upon to impart denominational, or any other general religious teaching. This contention is firmly held by the present generation of teachers, and teachers are rapidly gaining in political strength. We may certainly expect then that their influence will make itself powerfully felt in the day of the seemingly forthcoming changes. Still, the demand that a State teacher should not be called upon to teach religion is surely unreasonable. The duties of a public servant should be determined by the needs of his department of work. In Army, Navy, or Treasury work religious teaching is not required, in the schoolroom it is; that is, if it be true as it is—and as Professor Sadler will tell us in words we shall quote presently,—that religion is an essential element in the moral and intellectual formation for which the schools exist. It is then, we submit, as grotesque for a State teacher to complain that he is expected to teach religion, because no other class of State teachers are expected to teach it, as it would be for an army officer to complain that he was expected to teach the art of war, because that is not required of the Treasury or Custom House clerks. Of course there is the other plea for exemption from the duty of religious teaching, the plea that conscience forbids one

to give it, at all events in the form in which the particular school requires it to be given. The validity of this plea we have acknowledged, but the inference to which it points, we must repeat, is not that the school should be left without religious teaching, or be compelled to receive that form of it which happens to suit a teacher appointed on other grounds, but in a wiser distribution of the teachers among the schools. But what, it may be urged, if the schools do not happen to fit, in number and kind, the religious specialities of the teachers in the market? Surely then it is not the teachers but the children who have first to be considered. Our modern teachers are rather too disposed to regard the children as clay provided by a benignant providence for teachers to exercise their art upon. But that is not the case. The children have personalities of their own with the rights incident to personalities. The children of Protestant parents have the right to receive a Protestant not a Catholic formation from their teachers, the children of Catholic parents, or again of agnostic parents, have similar rights which their teachers, and the State which appoints them, are bound in honour and equity to respect. The teachers, in short, are for the children and not the children for the teachers.

(2) The teachers as they rise in the social scale resent more and more the attempts to subject them to denominational control. It is the State or the Local Authorities by whom they are paid, and theirs is the only dictation they are prepared to receive. Let then the denominational authorities keep hands off, and, except for the case of the State fixing limits to it, let the teachers be free to give the religious instruction that commends itself to their consciences. This again is undoubtedly a feeling that does exist, not much I think among our Catholic teachers, but among a good many others in the country. Professor Sadler is right therefore in placing it on the list of influences militating for the discontinuance of the religious lesson. Considered in itself, we submit that this chafing under denominational control is condemnable for the same reasons as the similar chafing under the obligation to give religious teaching of any kind. Persons may like it or not, but at least it is a fact, and a very permanent fact of history, that religious belief, at all events in the vast majority of those who have it, is intimately bound up with membership of some organized religious communion that has a creed and institutions, which

the recognized authorities of the communion are charged to maintain, and exact as indispensable for membership. Hence to resent the control of denominational authorities in schools connected with the respective denominations is nothing less than to resent the claim of the children to be brought up in the religion for which the schools were built.

(3) The waning of the influence of the squires and the parsons in the rural districts must count for much in the estimate of future changes, for it is they who have made the denominational schools, with their decided religious teaching and atmosphere, possible during all these decades. Cases of neglect or intolerance can easily be collected and laid to the charge of these benignant despots of the past; but Professor Sadler pays them the tribute of a just acknowledgment when he judges that their influence, in the balance, has been enormously for the good; and that they deserve grateful remembrance for the self-sacrifice and devotedness which, at a time when few others thought of it, they dedicated so freely and generously to the service of the poor by the education of their children. But this long period of semi-feudal predominance is drawing to a close, overwhelmed by the influx of a variety of causes, and the villages are now demanding that they shall be as free as the towns, and that their village schools shall be their own, administered by the Local Authorities which they have chosen by their votes, and the teachers whom these in their solicitude have sent them. Thus the prospect seems to be that the State teacher will succeed those former despots and become in their stead the little god of the village. Whether he will succeed so well as they, and assure to the inhabitants greater freedom and a larger outlook, is a secret which the future only will reveal to us. But once more we are with the writer of the Address in judging that this substitution is among the probabilities of the future.

(4) Fourthly, Professor Sadler reckons in the feeling now become general, that the State, not being a theocracy, is not entitled to prescribe a form of religious belief to its subjects and that it oversteps its province when it frames and imposes a religious syllabus. Yet, if the State cannot impose one, who can? Denominational control being tabooed, what other course is open save to omit the religious lesson altogether, or to allow the teacher to give it in conformity with a syllabus of his own construction? Once more we must admit that, this being the

general feeling among the teachers and others, it had to be included among the causes making for change. Still, in criticism of this general feeling, it may be said that it overlooks an aspect of the State's duty under which it is entitled to exercise some control over the religious teaching given by its representatives. It can and should act as the representative of the parents to safeguard their right to be protected against its own servants, should the latter venture on teaching which the parents deem harmful for their children to receive. The misfortune which has brought the State's intervention on this score into disrepute is that of late it has too often, at the bidding of a powerful political interest, gone outside its proper defensive function, and sought to promote administrative simplicity by imposing syllabuses which have proved veritable Procrustean beds for the consciences of the parents.

The permanent needs of the case.—On comparing these two classes of tendencies, Professor Sadler judges, and we with him, that the resultant tendency is unfavourable to the religious lesson. This is the conclusion to which the first section of his Address has brought him. In the second he calls attention to one or two points which need to be weighed carefully by all who may have a part to play in bringing in the new system. All, however, that he lays down in this section may, for the purpose of this article, be summed up in one wise reminder—namely, that religious influence, with which the religious lesson has a vital connection, cannot, if we take it in the broader sense of the term religious, be really excluded from the formation given in the schools; and hence that, if disaster is not to follow, it is of prime importance to understand thoroughly the true nature of this influence, and the conditions under which alone the teacher can exercise it efficiently. After a precautionary reminder that the schools for which this religious problem has to be solved are not merely those which are attended by our boys and girls, but those also in which adolescence pursues its higher studies, he expounds his ideas about religious influence in two fine passages, one on the exploded notion that religion can be extracted from the syllabus without affecting the subjects that remain in it, the other on the freedom to teach what his heart believes without which the flame of the teacher's religious enthusiasm cannot hope to enkindle the hearts of his pupils.

The idea that education is a faggot of "subjects," tied together with birch-twigs, out of which you can pull the stick called "religion" without any serious loss of kindling for the fire, is an interesting bit of pre-biological psychology. Some politicians seem to value these relics of the past as others treasure Georgian samplers or sedan chairs; but the idea of escaping from educational difficulties by just leaving religion out (though by no means extinct politically) is intellectually as old-fashioned as the contemporary notion that the abstract "economic man" can be conceived of, and observed in action and legislated for, apart from the ordinary citizen with his skin full of many other tendencies and motives, all of them crossing and deflecting one another in the vibrating unity of his life. To leave religious influence out of education is to desiccate it. You may indeed pretend to leave it out, with the private hope that its aroma and presuppositions will remain. But that is evasion, not settlement. . . . "In the eventful and hazardous interval which all must cross between childhood and manhood, two terrible powers of evil are to be met with in each man's path—ignorance and sin. If education is to have its perfect work, both must be encountered, both must be defeated. Education only fulfils half its office, it works with a maimed and distorted idea, unless it deals with character as well as with intellect; unless it opens and enlightens the mind as well as directs, and purifies, and fortifies the will."¹

And again:

In the attempt to fulfil this task the educator needs all the powers at his command. How can he (save under stress of necessity) willingly dispense with the power of the faith by which he lives? But it must be the faith by which he really lives. Intense personal conviction—the more moving when curbed in utterance—can alone give to his religious teaching, to his religious influence, the power of persuasion and of intimate moral appeal. Therefore the teacher must be free, free not to give instruction for which he feels unfitted or unprepared, free to give instruction in the faith in which he believes to those children whose parents desire them to receive it.

It is with the greatest pleasure we cite these two passages, containing as they do the two fundamental points on which the Catholic party, all through this long Education controversy, has based its claim to "Catholic schools for Catholic children under Catholic teachers." True, Professor Sadler continues the last quotation from the place where we have closed it with an appeal to us "to trust the teacher not to misuse his freedom." But given our separate schools, this stipulation has no terrors

¹ For this quotation see Dean Church's *Pascal and other Sermons*, p. 218.

for us. We choose our teachers just because we believe that we can trust them. In schools which are in relation with no denominational authorities it seems to us that this demand for implicit trust raises serious difficulties, but this is a point to which we shall return presently.

A Forecast of the probable Future.—These are the needs and these the forces at work. What is to be the issue? Professor Sadler's forecast, which is not inconveniently but helpfully confused with his reasoned desires, is drawn out with a fulness of detail into which we have not space to enter. It is generously conceived, and allows place for a variety of type in the school provision, without which he does not see how the educational peace so beneficial to the country can be preserved. To confine ourselves to the case of Elementary and Secondary Day Schools—which is the case in which the adherents of definite creeds are chiefly at the mercy of the Government—he anticipates that the plan followed in the recent Education Bills will be adhered to, but purged of its impracticabilities. On the question of admitting a variety of types, which is so important for us, he expresses himself as follows :

In "plural-school areas" (areas, that is, in which choice of elementary schools can be allowed without detriment to educational efficiency), I agree with those who, on educational grounds, deprecate any monopoly of local public control. Provided that all schools are required to come up to a fit standard of excellence in their methods of teaching and in the hygienic and other conditions of corporate life, diversity of type is an advantage. There is no one way in education. We are on the verge of a period of extensive educational experiment. It will be wise not to put all our eggs into one basket. What I plead for here is diversity—for diversity within a framework of administrative unity—but not for "contracting out" or for any encouragements to a cheap and inferior education, conducted by teachers inadequately paid and excluded from some of the privileges of membership in the great body of their profession.

If this mixed system were permitted, he does not think that only denominationalists would take advantage of it. Still, it is chiefly they who would use it, nor does he think that any evil consequence, such as "a malignant hostility to the established order of the State," would result from the concession.

On the contrary, the statutory recognition of such schools, where

desired by the parents, would prevent the growth of a bitter feeling of injustice ; would deepen the sense of national unity ; would secure for national education the hearty good-will and useful co-operation of many powerful bodies ; and would have the further advantage of keeping the educational work of the religious bodies (which will not be eradicated in any case) under the intellectual stimulus of public inspection and in organic union with the main currents of our national life. The denominational schools, in their turn, would be the means of preserving the educational and moral tradition which has grown out of devotion to a religious way of life, and which appeals to many temperaments (though not to all) as does no other character-forming influence in education. It is in these schools also that the teaching of the organized religious bodies, in its application to the needs of young people, would find continuity and development.

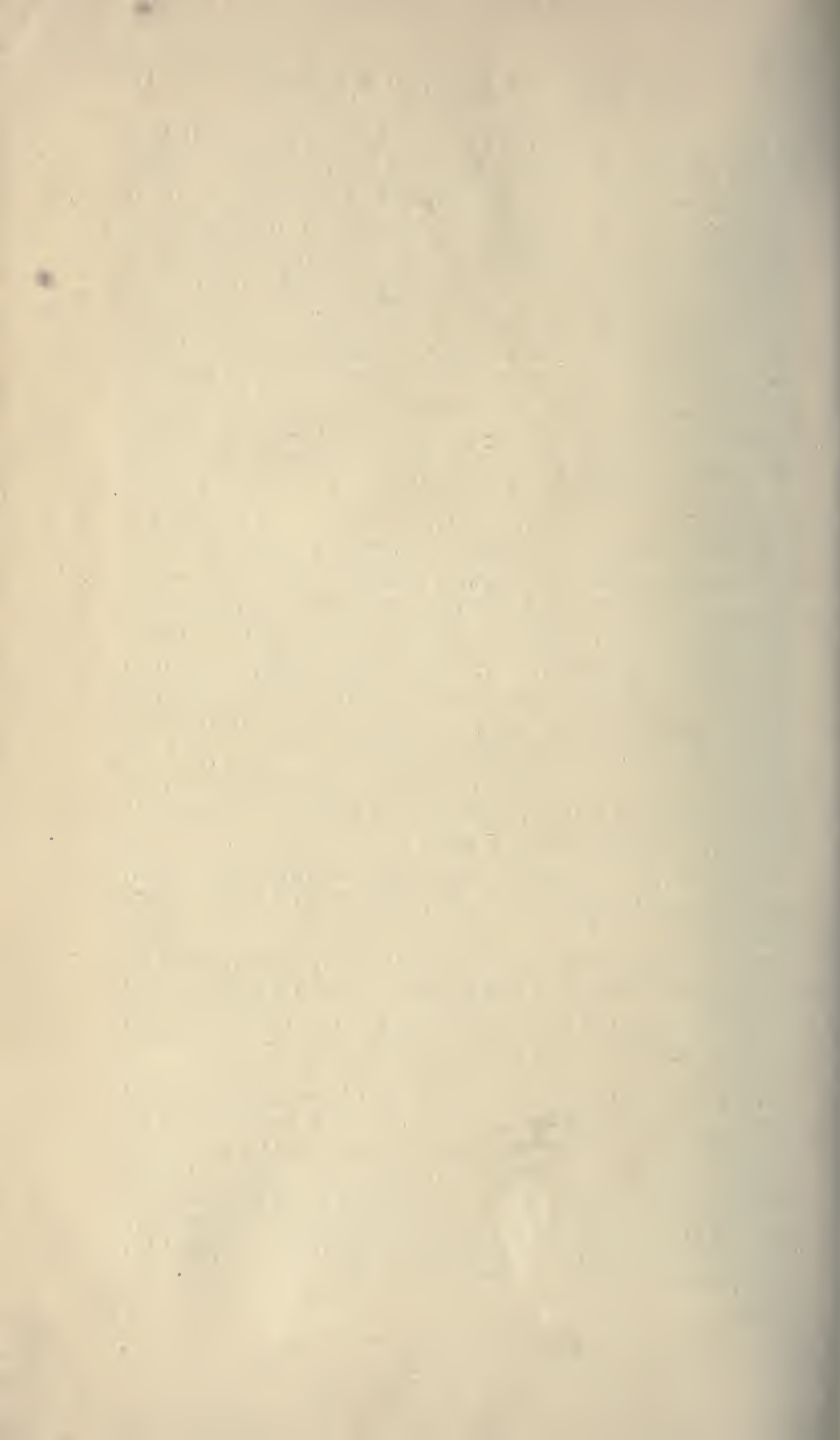
As it is the Catholic body, though not it only, which will avail itself of this concession, should it be made, we may add our assurance to Professor Sadler's that he truly represents our feeling when he credits us with the desire to work in these voluntary schools in all possible cordiality with the State authorities. Indeed, the Education Offices, Governmental and Local, know this well from a long experience of our ways. One thing only we further stipulate for, and we mention it because Professor Sadler does not make it quite clear enough in his address. Though, theoretically, we do not see why the position of privilege in the State schools should be given to those who believe the least, we have no wish to raise objections on this head. We see the difficulty in which our friends in the Government are placed, and we are quite willing to build and maintain at our own expense the fabric of our schools—provided advantage is not taken of our conscientious convictions to impose on us quite intolerable burdens, on the unreal plea of "hygienic requirements." It may be becoming (though we are disposed to doubt it) that the State schools should be built like palaces, at enormous cost to the rate-payers, but in any case such sumptuous buildings are not an educational necessity, and ought not to be exacted from those who are doing their best, under peculiarly hard conditions, to preserve to their children what they conceive to be the pearl of great price. May we trust that some provision for the removal of this very real grievance will be included in the educational settlement of the future?

In single-school districts Professor Sadler's forecast is that the one school must be entirely under State control. This is an eventuality which may press hardly in some places. Still, it can hardly be avoided; and, besides, can, if there be good will, be dealt with administratively on equitable principles, in view of the circumstances of the neighbourhood. But to pass this over, and finish with just a word on what Professor Sadler offers as the probable and desirable future of the religious lesson, if it is preserved in the Council schools. It is a question which will not greatly concern ourselves, for Catholics will always be withdrawn under the Conscience Clause from these non-Catholic religious lessons. Still, as Englishmen, we cannot help contemplating with some alarm what must result if in all these schools, in town and country, the children are to be at the mercy of this unfettered liberty of religious teaching accorded to teachers not chosen on religious grounds. For, when we are asked to trust the teachers in this wholesale way, it must be noted that we are to trust not merely their good will, and desire to be fair—a kind of trust which we might perhaps accord in the mass of instances—but their power to select appropriate religious teaching. *Quot homines tot sententiae* is a truth surely which will be found peculiarly applicable to a multitude of English religious teachers left to the unchecked outflow of their own individualism. Will religion of any kind, one asks oneself, survive the conflicts of such a Babel?

However, if we Catholics are given our own schools apart, we are content to leave this issue to those whom it more directly concerns.

We will finish our notice of this interesting address by thanking the President of the Teachers' Guild for giving it, and for constructing it in so conciliatory a form. If only he might move the country to heed his concluding words.

For the nation to adopt the policy of privileged secularism would be to miss a great opportunity. England may, if she wishes, set an example to the world in the generosity and efficiency of her educational system. She, as can no other great nation, may unite in tolerant synthesis diverse types of school and diverse kinds of educational influence, and in this, as in other branches of public policy, preserve by a bold combination of opposites her historical continuity and her social peace.



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The Pope's First Encyclical.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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The Pope's First Encyclical.

FOLLOWING the precedent set by his predecessors, Benedict XV. has addressed a first letter to the Bishops and other Prelates of the Catholic Church, in which he announces his accession to the Papacy, diagnoses the condition of the world as he now finds it, and indicates the objects he will seek to attain. The subdued tone which pervades the Encyclical and makes it so sad to read testifies eloquently to the deep distress under which it has been written, but just on that account it will appeal the more forcibly to the hearts of his many children throughout the world, and not to those only.

Necessarily he begins with a reference to the war as to the most arresting fact which faces his gaze as he looks out on the populations he is called upon to govern as their supreme Pastor.

But as soon as we were able from the height of Apostolic dignity to survey at a glance the course of human affairs, our eyes were met by the sad conditions of human society, and we could not but be filled with bitter sorrow. For what could prevent the soul of the common Father of all from being most deeply distressed by the spectacle presented by Europe, nay, by the whole world, perhaps the saddest and most mournful spectacle of which there is any record. Certainly those days would seem to have come upon us of which Christ Our Lord foretold: "You shall hear of wars and rumours of wars—for nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom" (Matt. xxiv. 6—7). On every side the dread phantom of war holds sway; there is scarce room for another thought in the minds of men. The combatants are the greatest and wealthiest nations of the earth; what wonder then if, well provided with the most awful weapons modern military science has devised, they strive to destroy one another with refinements of horror. There is no limit to the measure of ruin and of slaughter; day by day the earth is drenched with newly-shed blood, and is covered with the bodies of the wounded and of the slain. Who would imagine as we see them thus filled with hatred of one another, that they are all

of one common stock, all of the same nature, all members of the same human society? Who would recognize them as brothers, whose Father is in heaven? Yet while with numberless troops the furious battle is engaged, the sad cohorts of war, sorrow and distress swoop down upon every city and every home; day by day the mighty number of widows and orphans increases, and with the interruption of communications, trade is at a standstill; agriculture is abandoned; the arts are reduced to inactivity; the wealthy are in difficulties; the poor are reduced to abject misery; all are in distress.

Appalling as is this picture none of us will deem it exaggerated. It comes home to us all too vividly, as we see our sons and our brothers leaving for the front, taking their lives in their hands, or read of the still sadder sufferings of those quiet and unoffending people whose misfortune it has been to live amidst the scenes of action. Knowing indeed most intimately our own country, and the extreme unwillingness with which it entered on this war, impelled only by the conviction that it was necessary in self-defence against a foe who was seeking to impose his domination on the rest of Europe, we can feel no doubt as to the side on which lies the responsibility of the aggressor. At the same time far be it from us to expect or desire that the Vicar of Christ should incline to one side or the other. What is best for us all is that he should embrace as he has done all the contending nations in a spirit of absolute neutrality, which is not neutrality in the sense of a mere stand-off from a quarrel of others, but the neutrality of a father's heart deeply distressed to see his children engaged in this internecine strife, who holds himself apart because his affection is equal for them all, and that he may the better be able to appeal to the consciences of each in striving to bring them back to thoughts of peace. And how tenderly he urges this appeal.

Moved by these great evils, we thought it our duty, at the very outset of our Supreme Pontificate, to recall the last words of our Predecessor, of illustrious and holy memory, and by repeating them once more, to begin our own Apostolic Ministry; and we implored Kings and rulers to consider the floods of tears and of blood already poured out, and to hasten to restore to the nations the blessings of peace. God grant by His mercy and blessing, that the glad tidings the angels brought at the birth of the divine Redeemer of mankind may soon echo forth as we, His vicar, enter upon His Work: "on earth peace to men of good

will " (Luke ii. 14). We implore those in whose hands are placed the fortunes of nations to hearken to our voice. Surely there are other ways and means whereby violated rights can be rectified. Let them be tried honestly and with good will, and let arms meanwhile be laid aside. It is impelled with love of them and of all mankind, without any personal interest whatever, that we utter these words. Let them not allow these words of a friend and of a father to be uttered in vain.

It is hardly probable that the rulers thus addressed, predominantly non-Catholic as they are, though so many of their subjects are Catholic, will give the heed we should desire to these words of a friend and a father. But such an appeal from the Apostolic See is likely to have at least some effect, and at all events it should help to make us realize better what the nations of the modern world lose by not being prepared to refer their grievances to a tribunal so fitted to arbitrate between them, and, through the reverence due to its sacred character, to soften down the wounded feelings that are usually the chief obstacle to peaceful settlements of international quarrels.

After this reference to the present war Benedict XV. proceeds in his diagnosis to penetrate more deeply into the maladies of the time. There is, he says, another evil raging in the very inmost heart of human society, a source of dread to those who really think, inasmuch as it has already brought, and will bring, many misfortunes upon nations, and may rightly be considered to be the root-cause of the present awful war.

Ever since the precepts and practices of Christian wisdom ceased to be observed in the ruling of states, it followed that as they contained the peace and stability of institutions, the very foundations of states necessarily began to be shaken. Such has been the change in the ideas and the morals of men that unless God comes soon to our help, the end of civilization would seem to be at hand. Thus we see the absence of mutual love from the relation of men with their fellow men; the authority of ruler is held in contempt; injustice reigns in relations between the classes of society; the striving for transient and perishable things is so keen that men have lost sight of the other and more worthy goods they have to obtain. It is under these four headings that may be grouped, we consider, the causes of the serious unrest pervading the whole of human society.

(a) " Our Lord," says the Encyclical, " came down from

heaven to establish on earth a kingdom of peace, and wishes accordingly that it should rest on a foundation of brotherly love." It might seem to a superficial observer that this is an ideal peculiarly cherished at the present day. "Never perhaps was there more talking about the brotherhood of men than at the present day; in fact, men do not hesitate to proclaim that striving after brotherhood is one of the greatest gifts of modern civilization, forgetting how the teaching of the Gospel and the work of Christ and the Church have set forth that ideal and laboriously wrought for its realization during all these nineteen Christian centuries."

But in fact there has never been less brotherly activity amongst men than at the present moment. Race hatred has reached its climax; people are more divided by jealousies than by frontiers; within one and the same nation, within one and the same city, there rages the burning envy of class against class, and among individuals it is self-love which is the supreme law overruling everything.

The cause of the paradox is that this age is making the fruitless endeavour to base the mutual love of men on another foundation than the love of men for God. Excellent and much to be commended are the institutions for philanthropic objects which the present age has so abundantly provided, but "only when such institutions are instrumental in fostering the true love of God and of their neighbours in the minds of men, are they of solid utility. Without this they are nothing worth, for *qui non diligit manet in morte*." Accordingly the Pope declares that it will be the special work of his Pontificate to strive to restore the charity of Jesus Christ as the ruling principle in the minds of men, and for this end he invites the co-operation of the Bishops and Prelates. It is, in fact, the motto of Pius X. taken up again, though expressed in somewhat different words.

(b) The second cause of the general unrest the Pope finds in the disregard for authority that has become so general. This he traces to the changed notions that prevail as to the source of the authority claimed by some men over others. He appeals here to St. Paul, who in various places of his Epistles teaches that there is no power, that is, authority, except such as is from God, our Creator and Ruler, and deduces that the powers that be, whatever be their degree, are "ordained of God," and must be obeyed by those subject to them, religiously, that is, from the motive of conscientious duty. With

this Christian conception of the relation between superior and subject, he contrasts the modern doctrine which derives all authority from the free choice of men, that is, of the governed, a system under which the relation between those that rule and those that are ruled has become so weakened as almost to have ceased to exist. In its stead—

Unrestrained love of independence together with overweening pride has little by little found its way everywhere, and has not even spared the home, although the natural origin of the ruling power in the family is as clear as the noonday sun; indeed, which is still more regrettable, it has not stopped at the gates of the sanctuary. Hence contempt for the law, insubordination of the masses, wanton criticism of orders issued, and innumerable ways of undermining authority. Hence too those terrible crimes of men who, claiming to be bound by no laws, do not hesitate to attack the property and even the lives of their neighbours.

But if these social miseries are due to the substitution of a false conception of the nature of authority for that inculcated by the religion of Jesus Christ, a serious reflection should engage the minds of the rulers of states.

Let the princes and rulers of peoples remember this truth, and let them consider whether it is a prudent and safe idea for governments or for states to separate themselves from the holy religion of Jesus Christ from which their authority receives such strength and support. Let them consider whether it is a measure of political wisdom to seek to divorce the teaching of the Gospel and the Church from the ruling of a country and from the public education of the young. Sad experience proves that human authority fails where religion is set aside. . . . When the rulers of nations despise divine authority, the people in their turn are wont to despise human authority. There remains of course the expedient of using force to repress popular risings, but what is the result? Force can repress the body, but it cannot repress the souls of men.

(c) The third disorder of the day which is undermining the fabric of human society is the direct outcome of these two prior causes. It is the unceasing conflict between class and class, between rich and poor, between employer and employed.

When the union of the members with one another by mutual charity and their union with their head by their dutiful recognition of his authority has been weakened, is it to be wondered at that modern society should be divided into two hostile armies bitterly and ceaselessly at strife? It is not necessary

to enumerate the many consequences, not less disastrous for the individual than for the community, which follow from this class hatred. We all see and deplore the frequency of strikes, which suddenly interrupt the course of city and national life in their most necessary functions; we see hostile gatherings and tumultuous crowds, and it not unfrequently happens that recourse is had to arms and human blood is spilled. . . . Let us then make it our care, using every argument supplied by the Gospel; by reason, and by public or private good, to stimulate all men to mutual brotherly love in accordance with the divine law of charity. This brotherly love does not set itself to sweep away all differences of rank and condition—this is no more possible than it is possible in a living body that all members should have the same place and function—but it has the power to make those of higher rank act towards those of a lower not only with justice, as is indeed imperative, but also with good will, and kindness and consideration; and it makes those of a lower rank to be glad at the prosperity of others, and to have confidence in their readiness to help; just as in the same family the younger trust to the care and protection of the elder.

The Encyclical next probes down to a deeper root still of the unrest and disorders of the time, which those who form public opinion instead of striving to extract, too often make it their persistent endeavour to encourage and strengthen.

When godless schools, moulding as wax the tender hearts of the young, when an unscrupulous press, continually playing on the inexperienced minds of the multitude, when those other agencies that form public opinion have succeeded in propagating the deadly error that man ought not to look for a happy eternity, that it is only here that happiness is to be found, in the riches, the honours, the pleasures of this life—it is not surprising that men, with their inextinguishable desire of happiness, should attack what stands in the way of that happiness with all the impelling force of their desire.

This being so it is clear that only in proportion as men's minds can be brought to the faith, and induced to lead their lives in accordance with its precepts so as to set constantly before themselves the desire and hope of the goods that are eternal, will the true and efficacious remedy for all these evils be recovered. And that this recovery may be promoted, Benedict XV. holds up the standards of Beatitude set forth in the Sermon on the Mount, as the teaching which the clergy must sedulously inculcate.

Men far removed from the faith [he urges] have yet seen in this teaching a supreme wisdom, and the most perfect form of religious and moral doctrine; and indeed all agree that before Christ, who is truth itself, no one ever spoke of these things as he has spoken, with such dignity, such power, and so exalted a sentiment of love. Now the deep and underlying thought of this divine philosophy is, that the good things of this life have only the appearance without the reality of good, and so cannot bestow true happiness. . . . But this important teaching of the faith is neglected by too many, and by not a few is forgotten altogether. It is for you, Venerable Brethren, to make it live again among men, for without it men and communities of men will never find peace.

That this is a true diagnosis of the characteristic malady of the age will be generally recognized. And, if some are captious enough to criticize it as keeping too exclusively to the generalities of primary principles, and omitting to offer any practical applications and measures of detail, they are forgetting that there are times when it is most desirable to remind the world of those primary religious principles, which it is so prone to disregard in its practical conduct and even in its theorizing, and that the first utterance of a new Pope is peculiarly the occasion for administering such a reminder. Perhaps, too, the time is propitious for it in another way, now that the fearful experiences of war are forcing so many to test their habitual motives of conduct in the piercing light of approaching death, and to pay more heed to the exhortations of the great Church whose teachings are so self-convincing to human minds when the mists of prejudice and passion have been cleared away.

Coming at length to matters that more directly concern the clergy, Benedict XV. begins by testifying to the consolation, even in the midst of his distress, which he derives from the thought of the splendid achievements that have crowned the labours of Pius X., who "during his Pontificate adorned the Apostolic See with the example of a life in every way saintly."

It is owing to him that we see the religious spirit of the clergy everywhere intensified; the piety of the faithful aroused; a disciplined activity promoted in Catholic associations; the sacred hierarchy consolidated or extended; the education of aspirants to the priesthood promoted according to the strict demands of ecclesiastical legislation and the needs of our time; the danger

of rash innovations removed from the teaching of the sacred sciences; music made to bear a worthy part in the solemn service of God, and the dignity of the liturgy increased; the knowledge of Christianity more widely spread by fresh contingents of ministers of the Gospel.

He then indicates some of the chief objects which, in taking over the work of his predecessors, he desires specially to advance. Realizing how much the success of any society of men depends on the concord of its members, he will labour to check dissension and discord amongst Catholics, thus to secure unity of plan and of action. Let no private person put himself forward in books or newspapers or otherwise, as a teacher in the Church. All know to whom God has given the teaching authority in the Church. It is for him to decide when and how he shall speak, and for others to receive his words with obedience and reverence. In matters on which he has not spoken, and there can be difference of opinion, without injury to faith and ecclesiastical discipline, each may lawfully defend his own opinion, as long as he speaks with propriety and avoids offensive language; and, if others do not accept his view, does not attempt to cast suspicion on their faith or spirit of discipline.

And here the Holy Father has a paragraph, for which we must all thank him, on the impropriety of attempting to label with injurious names those whose views are opposed to our own.

We desire that the practice lately come into use of using distinctive names by which Catholics are marked off from Catholics should cease; such names must be avoided, not only as "profane novelties of words" that are neither true nor just, but also because they lead to grave disturbance and confusion in the Catholic body. "It is of the nature of the Catholic faith that nothing can be added to it, nothing taken away; it is either accepted in full or rejected in full—" This is the Catholic faith which unless a man believe faithfully and steadfastly he cannot be saved." There is no need to qualify by fresh epithets the profession of this faith, let it be enough for a man to say: "Christian is my name, Catholic my surname"; only let him take heed to be in truth what he calls himself.

In the remainder of his Encyclical the Holy Father renews to the full, as it was certain he would, his predecessor's condemnation of "the monstrous errors of Modernism," which he attributes to a rash disposition on the part of a

certain school "to reduce the deep things of God, and the whole revelation of God, to the measure of their own understanding, and to accommodate them to the modern spirit." And he admonishes all to reject not only the errors of Modernism itself but also this modernistic spirit, "a spirit that fastidiously rejects what is ancient, and is ever on the search for novelties—novelties in the way of speaking of divine things, in the celebration of divine worship, in Catholic practices, and even in the practices of private devotion."

Finally come a few words of encouragement for the Catholic associations which with such benefit to the Church have been so multiplied in recent years, but with a caution that they observe faithfully the regulations that have been given or may be given to them by the Holy See; of encouragement to the Bishops to continue their solicitude for the careful training of the young levites to holiness of life and perfect discipline, and a very earnest exhortation indeed to the clergy to keep themselves free from "the spirit of independence and insubordination so characteristic of these days," and to show a loyal and willing obedience to their Bishops. "Owing to the difficulties of the times," says the Pope, "the burden of the Bishops is already too heavy. Is it not cruel that anyone, by refusing proper obedience, should increase the weight and anxieties of their Office?"

It was to be anticipated that the Encyclical would not end without a renewal of the protest which recent Pontiffs have had to keep up against the curtailment of the Church's necessary freedom of action, since "the Head of the Church, the supreme Pontiff, began to lack that defence of his freedom which the Providence of God had raised up during the course of centuries." Benedict XV. accordingly makes this protest, but in words of studied moderation which no reasonable judge can call provocative.

"While we pray for the speedy return of peace to the world, we also pray that an end may be put to the abnormal state in which the Head of the Church is placed—a state which in many ways is an impediment to the common tranquillity. Our predecessors have protested, not from self-interest, but from a sense of sacred duty, against this state of things; these protests we renew, and for the same reason—to protect the rights and dignity of the Holy See."

the first of these is the fact that the population of the country has increased very rapidly since the year 1800. This is due to a number of causes, the most important of which are the discovery of gold in California, the discovery of oil in Texas, and the discovery of coal in the West. These discoveries have attracted a large number of people to the country, and have caused a rapid increase in the population. The second cause is the fact that the country has a very fertile soil, and is very well adapted for agriculture. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The third cause is the fact that the country has a very mild climate, and is very well adapted for the raising of stock. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population.

The fourth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of cities and towns, and is very well adapted for commerce. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The fifth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of rivers and lakes, and is very well adapted for navigation. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The sixth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of mountains and hills, and is very well adapted for hunting and fishing. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population.

The seventh cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of mines, and is very well adapted for mining. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The eighth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of farms, and is very well adapted for farming. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The ninth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of ranches, and is very well adapted for raising stock. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population.

The tenth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of cities and towns, and is very well adapted for commerce. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The eleventh cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of rivers and lakes, and is very well adapted for navigation. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The twelfth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of mountains and hills, and is very well adapted for hunting and fishing. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population.

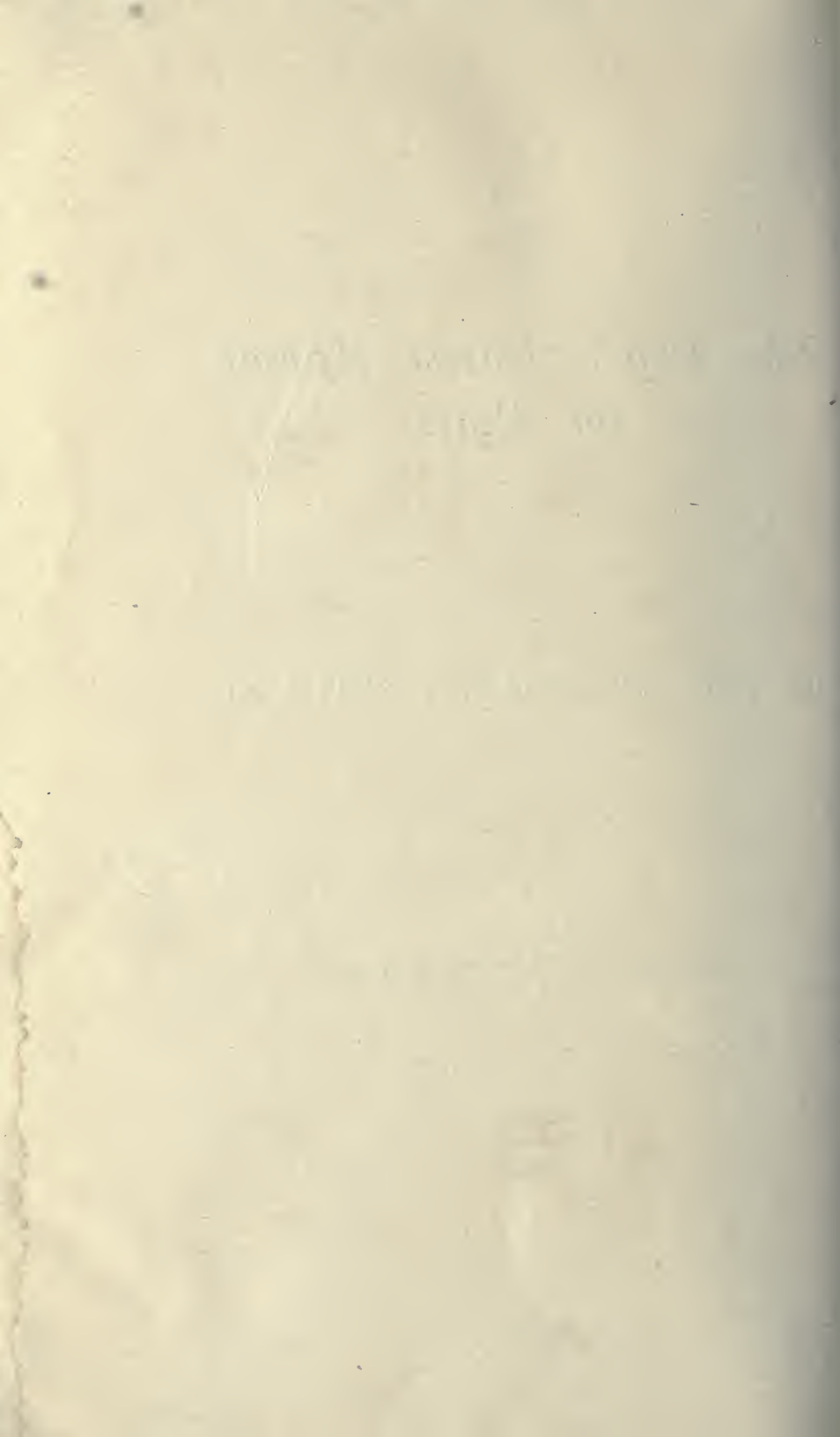
The thirteenth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of mines, and is very well adapted for mining. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The fourteenth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of farms, and is very well adapted for farming. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population. The fifteenth cause is the fact that the country has a very large number of ranches, and is very well adapted for raising stock. This has caused a large number of people to settle in the country, and has caused a rapid increase in the population.

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*The Pope's Latest Appeal
for Peace*

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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THE POPE'S LATEST APPEAL FOR PEACE

IN our last number we made a reference to the Pope's letter to his Cardinal Vicar, dated March 4th, and published in the English papers a week or so later. But this is a matter which ought not to be quickly pushed out of the memory, even at this time when things of importance are continually pressing in and seeking to draw off attention to themselves. We return, therefore, again to a subject which for us Catholics means so much.

Four points stand out in this fresh Appeal for Peace, of which the first is the pathetic exhortation to all the belligerents to close their ears for a while to the instigations of passion, and reflect on the significance of the big broad fact which the present war has set before us. The Holy Father calls it the "suicide of civilized Europe." It is an arresting phrase which truthfully and piercingly describes the reality of it all. The nations of Europe have been for many centuries the leaders of the movement for civilizing the human race: of that movement which, whether we regard it under its religious and moral, its intellectual, or its social aspects, owes its origin and healthy development so largely to the stimulus of the Christian Church. If eventually this civilization spread into other continents where too it has struck deep roots, and where by now it has attained to a high degree of progress, all these new lands will own that it was from Europe that the seed came to them, and it is with Europe that its outgrowth connects them. And now this civilization is in the utmost peril, not because of any intrinsic enfeeblement, but because the constituent nationalities of the European Continent, instead of working together as in the past for their mutual benefit, and cementing those bonds of brotherhood in whose firmness lies the best pledge of enduring progress, have for nearly two years been striving to destroy one another's lives and possessions on the most appalling scale. It is indeed an act of suicide on the part of this vast community of nations placed by the circumstances of their long history at the head of European civilization, and it does indeed deserve to be seriously considered from this point of view by every rational

and particularly by every Christian mind. It is as if the spring was cut off from the opening year, said an ancient orator, as he lamented over his young fellow-countrymen, the Athenians slain at Marathon; and the simile is far more appropriate and far more poignant now, when so many young people have been slain in the numerous battle-fields, and so many once happy families are mourning the loss of sons in the promise of whose opening manhood their hopes of the future for themselves and their country had been fondly set.

And is it to continue to the bitter end, pleadingly asks the Holy Father, to whom the sad spectacle is all the sadder because the victims are his own spiritual children called—Germans, Russians, French, English, Italians, Belgians, Servians all of them,—to be members of that one Christian Church of which he is the common father? The soldiers themselves, together with the families from whose midst they are taken, all hate the war, all long for the day when the blessed word peace will at last be spoken, and they can betake themselves once more to their homes, and to the works of peace which best become them. Cannot their rulers then use their endeavours to find a solution by some happier method than the issue of battles? It is this which the Holy Father asks of these rulers in the letter we are considering.

“ From the very commencement of our Pontificate, [he says] in the anguish with which our heart was filled at the sight of this atrocious spectacle, we endeavoured by our exhortations and our counsels to induce the contending nations to lay down their arms and seek a settlement of their grievances by the means appropriate to human dignity, mediated by a friendly understanding. Casting ourselves as it were into the midst of the belligerent populations, as a father into the midst of his own contending children, we have conjured them in the name of that God who is infinite justice and charity, to renounce their determination to destroy one another, and declare once for all with clearness, either by direct or indirect means, the desires by which on either side they are actuated, and to take into account, in the measure of what is just and possible, the aspirations of the various populations, prepared to accept when it is found necessary, out of regard for equity and the common welfare of the great comity of the nations, the obligatory and necessary sacrifices of self-love and of private interests. For this was and is the sole way to compose the monstrous conflict in accordance

with the rules of justice, and to arrive at a peace not profitable to one of the parties only, but to all, and hence both just and durable."

The Holy Father goes on to lament that his voice, though it be that of a father, has not hitherto been heeded by those whom he addressed, and that in consequence the war with all its horrors continues to rage. None the less he will not desist from his fatherly purpose and relapse into the position of a silent spectator of the cruel tragedy.

"It is not lawful for a father, [he says] whose children are engaged in fierce fight with one another, to cease from admonishing them, solely because they resist his prayers and his tears. We know too that, if our repeated call for peace has not produced its desired effect, it has none the less awakened a deep echo and has fallen like balm into the hearts of the people who are thus at war, as well as of those throughout the entire world, and has stirred up a lively and acute desire to see the blood-stained conflict terminated as quickly as possible. Accordingly it is impossible for us not to lift up our voice once again in protest against this war which we cannot but regard as the suicide of civilized Europe, nor can we refrain from suggesting and pointing out, whenever the circumstances are propitious, such means as are calculated to aid the accomplishment of the end for which we all long."

Does not this moving appeal strike a chord in the hearts of us all? At least it does as regards the people of this country whether Catholic or otherwise. We do all feel, and feel intensely, the horror of the present situation, which, altogether against our will, was forced upon us so suddenly less than two years ago, and has turned into gall and bitterness so much of our national life. We are not an unkindly race: we have always sought to cultivate friendly relations with the nations around us. Particularly towards the nations that are now our foes it has been traditional with us to cherish a feeling not only of friendship but even of kinship. Those of them who settled down in our midst were especially welcome and were allowed to share with the amplest liberty in all the advantages of our social life. Our colonies, too, were open to them, as indeed they were to all other races, in the same degree as to our own people; for our ideal was that the new nations there forming should be compacted together out of all the immigrant elements whom they themselves had admitted into their communities. There were, too, inter-

marriages in considerable numbers between the two races, and an intellectual and social intercourse which made us seem one with our German friends in a high degree. Of course it must be long before these once pleasant relations with them can be restored to their former state. But even now there is none here of that downright loathing which on their side has found expression in hymns of hate sedulously propagated and sung even by sovereigns and heirs-apparent at the head of their troops. On the contrary we try to make distinction between rulers and subjects, as between one race and another of those who compose the Central Empires, and we endeavour to persuade ourselves that, whilst some of them must be held responsible for the crime of originating and maintaining this destructive war, others have been misled by untruthful perversions of the facts out of which it grew, and of the objects for which it is maintained by those on the Allies' side. If this latter class among our adversaries were the only one to consider, surely it would not be so difficult for the two sides to meet together in conference, as Benedict XV. suggests, and agree on terms which would as far as possible take into account the desires of both sides, and submit to the needful sacrifice which for each side this would entail.

But there is another difficulty to which it must be attributed that the rulers on the *Entente* side hold back from the suggestion made by the Holy Father that they should strive to settle their differences by conference or arbitration, and so be able to terminate the war without further bloodshed. Here we enter on a very delicate subject. Far be it from us to say anything which could rightly be called criticism of the Pope. On the contrary, while bound by the loyalty due to the Holy See which is incumbent on every whole-hearted Catholic, we find it quite easy to be loyal in this particular respect of entering into the spirit of his suggestion that the quarrel of the nations should be settled by amicable conference, not by continued war. For it must be remembered that the Pope when he puts forth such a suggestion is addressing himself not to the belligerents on one side only but on both sides, and wishes them all and each to examine their consciences, and reflect whether there is anything blameworthy in themselves which prevents a settlement in friendly conference. He certainly does not wish to recommend any settlement which, through any defect in the disposition of those who enter on the conference, cannot be regarded as likely

to be durable; he wishes on the contrary that those who have this defective disposition should recognize it in themselves and remove it. Is there then in the parties on either side any defective disposition of the kind specified, and is it this that causes the difficulty in responding to his pathetic appeal of which the Pope complains so sadly? Here again a writer in this periodical finds himself in a delicate position. For it is a principle for those charged with its direction to abstain as far as possible from taking a part in the fray which is necessary in others, but is less becoming in ecclesiastics whose function is to minister to what unites nations not to what divides them. Still it is important that it should be made clear what those who represent this nation—we speak of our own nation only, fully conscious, however, that our Allies are of the same mind—find to be the great impediment in the way of a settlement by friendly conference. A settlement of this kind requires essentially that there should be on either side a firm belief in the morally binding force of any agreement arrived at, since without this there can be no guarantee that the terms of the treaty made will be observed by one or both of the contracting parties. Yet—for it is impossible not to say it—the principal of the ~~foes~~ ^{foes} against whom we are fighting began the war by repudiating all obligation to adhere to the terms of a treaty very solemnly signed by the sovereign of that State on more than one occasion. How, said its representatives to our own, can you attach importance to a scrap of paper, a thing which has been so often disregarded in the course of history? And with this repudiation of a treaty signed by Germany in common with the chief European powers, one cannot but associate the systematic disregard by the same belligerent of practically every one of the articles of the Hague Convention in her treatment of Belgium and her conduct throughout the war. At times during its course, when she thought she could fix a violation of any article of this Convention on one of her opponents, she has expressed herself scandalized and astonished, and has declared her intention to retaliate on such an outrage, but she has never shown any solicitude to observe these rules herself, and her conduct in Belgium (to take that case alone) in inflicting brutal punishment on whole populations for acts of individuals for which they cannot be regarded as collectively responsible, in imposing enormous fines on innocent towns, in carrying on wholesale pillage, in forcing the popu-

lation of an occupied territory to give information injurious to the means of defence of its own army, in compelling them to manufacture instruments of war to be used against their own country,—all these are acts which the enemy in question has frequently committed and continues to commit, though he had undertaken by his express signature to abstain from them carefully. In calling attention to these acts on the part of Germany, we are not wishing now to discuss their propriety or impropriety as viewed in themselves, but only their bearing on the trust which could be reposed in any future treaty engagements the rulers of such a people might accept and subscribe. How could such engagements and such signatures, if the desired Conference were held, furnish solid guarantees that what they thus promised would be kept? It is this difficulty which explains the reluctance of the allied rulers to accept that easier and more satisfactory way of terminating the war for which the Holy See has asked, and which they themselves acknowledge would be far the best, if only they could count upon in their adversaries what their adversaries could certainly count upon in them, a profound sense of the moral obligation of keeping engagements thus solemnly taken, and a profound readiness to act loyally by them.

But can it be hoped that the rulers opposed to us have been led, by the consciousness of their disappointment, and of the fearful sacrifices in men and means of subsistence which they themselves have undergone, to realize the futility of their ambition to impose their domination on the rest of Europe, of that ambition in the pursuit of which they set themselves to prepare so steadily this devastating war, and, when they conceived themselves ready for it, to spring it so suddenly upon the astonished world? Can it be hoped that the effect of the Pope's earnest appeal has been to make them reconsider their attitude and unconditionally abandon the perverse aims which have lost them the sympathies of the whole world? If indeed there should have been, or is yet to be, such a whole-hearted change on the part of our foes, it opens the way for a satisfactory conference, for that kind of conference which, as we British may rightly claim, our Foreign Secretary took the lead in proposing to the Central Empires, with the full sanction of the Allied Governments, as a means of averting the war, during the few anxious days before it began. Yet even then a serious difficulty would

remain. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, and it would be hard to get the representatives of the *Entente* to believe that this change in German mentality was really sincere. How, they would ask themselves, can we trust this new move? How can we be sure that it is not assumed as a means of securing some advantage which, if obtained, would enable these clever people to start the war again under conditions more favourable to themselves? How can we be sure that, if they saw their opportunity to take this course at some future time, they would not treat the document which bears their signatures as, like the document guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium, "only a scrap of paper," which now that it had served its purport might be repudiated without scruple? And how terrible then would be the danger to which we should all be exposed! The German rulers just at present would find it hard to induce their people, after the bitter experiences they are now having, to consent to a resumption of the state of war. Still, the readiness of that people to trust implicitly what their leaders represent to them as the truth of facts is extraordinary, and, chiefly because this can be counted on, the strength of Germany is immense.

There is also a further matter we have to consider. What is the purpose which, not the peace-loving section of the German people but their rulers and the element among their subjects which forced on this war, are pursuing. They have represented from time to time that in this war they have been acting merely on the defensive against a combined attack on their very existence which they had fortunately discovered just in time. But no one really believes that—not even they themselves. What is at all events generally held to have been Germany's purpose in forcing on the war is to establish her hegemony over the nations of Europe, by adding largely to her territory at the expense alike of their European and Colonial possessions, and by exercising over them such a terrorism that there could no longer be any question of their national independence. Such an hegemony she considers is due to her by the right of her alleged superior Kultur or efficiency, on the principle that *Might is Right*. That this is really her aspiration, and that she is still as bent as ever on attaining to it, is a fact that can be attested by a mass of evidence drawn from the utterances of German statesmen and German writers of authority, which at least suffices to produce conviction in the minds of the nations that are

warring against her, and make them feel that her success would mean their utter ruin. It is the seriousness of this prospect that convinces them of the necessity, since Germany's word by her own avowal can no longer be trusted, of exacting material guarantees against the resumption of the war, as the sole condition on which they could make peace. Some publicists, in England, as perhaps elsewhere, occasionally use wild words, as if it were the Allies' intention to crush Germany out of existence. But certainly this feeling is not general and is not shared by those entitled to speak in the name of the nation, or rather of the nations in alliance to resist Germany. What precisely should be the material guarantees which the sense of self-preservation would require the Allies to exact has not so far been stated officially in any detail; but that there is no wish to go beyond the necessities of the case, or any wish to destroy the national existence of the populations that form the Central Empires may be taken as quite certain so far as regards the responsible authorities in the country. Still we must insist once more that we are not expressing any opinions of our own as to what methods should be pursued for the ending of the war, or what terms should be exacted.. It is not for us to express opinions on such a subject, but we are setting down the opinions which are known to prevail in England.

Failing to get the support he desires from rulers and Governments able of themselves to take measures for the restoration of peace, the Holy Father turns to the devout people and stimulates them to make a fuller and more extended use of the arms of prayer. This is why the form in which this latest appeal of the Holy Father for Peace is cast is that of a letter to his Cardinal Vicar; for it was occasioned by the desire to approve and bless the effort of certain Roman ladies to unite together in a league of prayer and mortification on behalf of peace during the Lent which was then just beginning.

Certain pious ladies [he says] have manifested to us their intention of combining together during the coming Lent in a spiritual union of prayer and mortification, in order to obtain the more readily from the infinite mercy of God the cessation of this appalling scourge. To us who have often urged assiduous prayer and Christian mortification as the sole comfort which can minister to the wound inflicted on our own and every human heart by this horrible fraternal strife, and as a most efficacious means of seek-

ing from our Lord the peace we long for, this intention [of the pious ladies] could not but be most grateful. We have therefore blessed it out of all the fulness of our paternal heart, and wish now to commend it publicly, in the desire that all the faithful may identify themselves with it. And for this reason we trust that, not only in Rome but throughout Italy and in the other belligerent countries, Catholic families will unite together, especially in the approaching days which the Church consecrates to penance, abstaining from theatres and secular diversions, in a more fervent and assiduous prayer and in the practice of Christian mortification such as may render more acceptable to God the supplications of His children, and appear in the present circumstances particularly opportune and in keeping with the stricken hearts of all well-disposed persons. Above all we exhort those who are mothers, wives, daughters or sisters of the combatants, and who in their tender and generous hearts feel and measure more acutely than any others the immense sorrow of this frightful war, to bring their example and the sweet power they exercise in the domestic hearth to bear upon all the members of their families and induce them to raise to God in this acceptable time, in these days of salvation, a continuous and most fervent prayer, and present before the divine throne an offering of voluntary sacrifices that may appease its most just wrath. . . . And inasmuch as by almsgiving sins are redeemed and the justice of God is appeased, we would that each family should offer, proportionately to its means, the mite of charity to be spent on the poor and the miserable who are so dear to Jesus our Redeemer, and especially for the sons of those who have died in this horrible war.

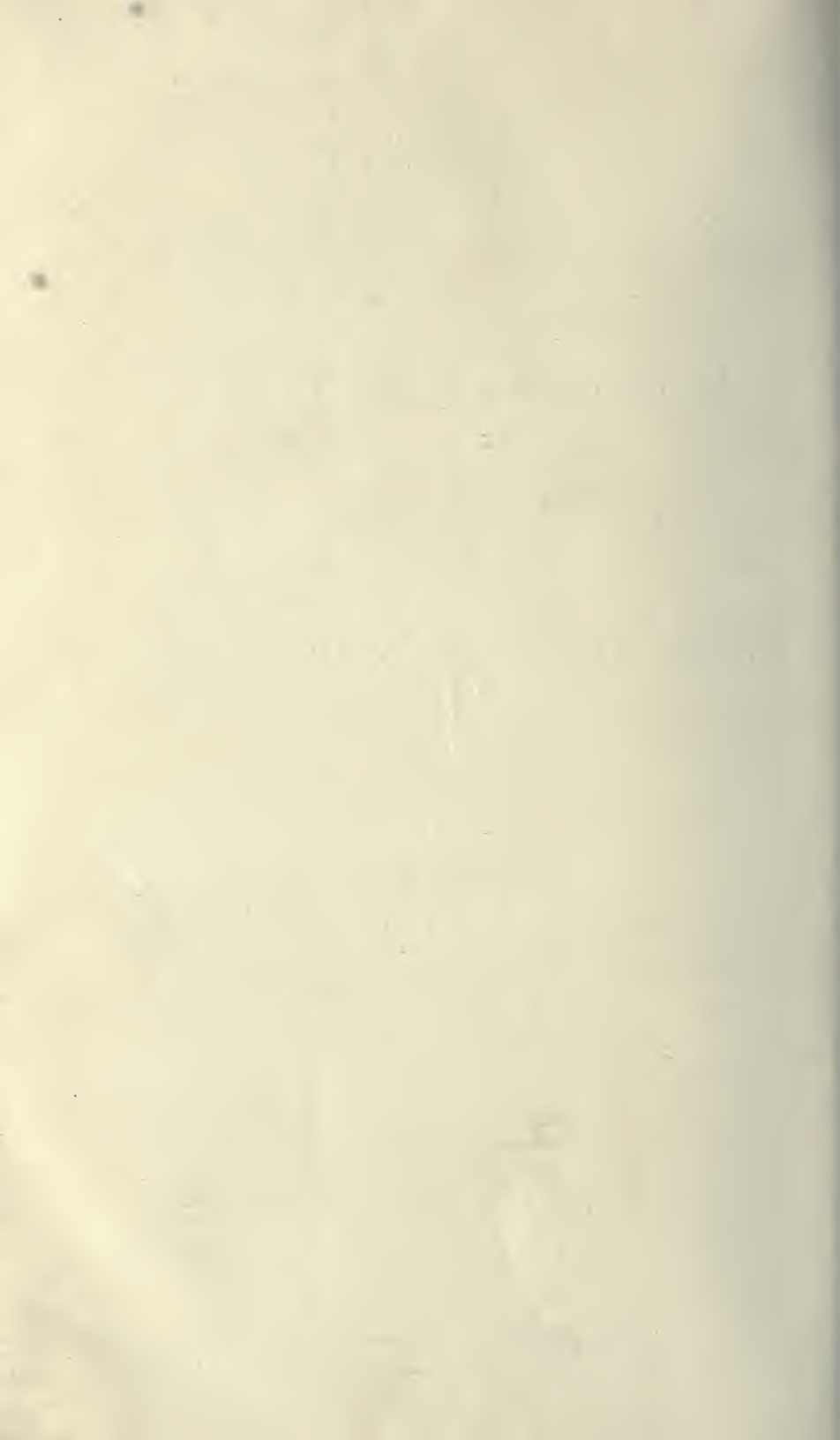
Lent is now over. During its course, in response to Benedict XV.'s appeal in many a pious family and many a religious house supplications, mortifications and almsdeeds have been offered up for the good cause, and have moved the compassion of the Almighty Ruler of hearts and Disposer of events. But this volume of sweet incense ascending heavenwards must not stop now when the Easter message of reconciliation and restoration is filling our hearts with gladness and renewed hope. Rather we owe it to the Holy Father that we should persevere and carry to a fuller development the good movement thus consolingly established. The modern world is incredulous of the efficacy of prayer, but the promises made to it in the divine records are clear and unmistakable, and the Catholic Church in all ages has had innumerable opportunities of recognizing their fulfilment. The

figure of the saintly pontiff who three centuries ago led the supplications of the Christian world on the eve of the battle of Lepanto, when the fate of Christian Europe was hanging in the balance, has been stamped on the memory of the Church ever since. It is a similar and even a worse danger which confronts it now; and the recollection of the deliverance which prayer wrought then should be a support to our faith in its efficacy now.

Religion and the War.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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RELIGION AND THE WAR

IT was inevitable that the question how to reconcile the divine omnipotence with the divine goodness should be raised in connexion with a war like the present, and it has been raised in an article, appropriately signed "Y," that appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* for August 28th, and led to a correspondence which went on in that paper for some weeks. The article referred to put the case fairly well from the negative side, but drew the hopeless conclusion that there is a God but He is not omnipotent. Among the letters that followed, one from Lord Halifax gave a good statement of the Christian Doctrine, but did not attempt to go to the root of the philosophical difficulty. Otherwise these letters did not much advance the discussion, though, on the whole, they manifested a Christian spirit beyond what one would have expected. It was too clear that none of them had any firm grasp of the question. It is indeed a question that cannot be satisfactorily dealt with except on the principles that Catholic theologians have laid down, and it is for this reason that we are proposing to make some notes on the subject, in the form of a comment on the *Westminster Gazette* article.

We may at least agree with "Y" that there is "nothing in the present war except its scale which raises this issue more acutely than the common incidents of our everyday life," also that "the scale makes a difference," inasmuch as what before was occasional and incidental, becomes suddenly normal and universal, whole nations being now "swept on to a plane of being in which justice and injustice, innocence and guilt are merged into a vast torrent of aimless violence," so that "no one who has seen the agonies of the battle-field or the desolation behind the battle-field can ever again evade the sharp challenge to heart and intellect which this experience will bring him."

This writer goes on to tell us that in the last few months he has "listened to many sermons, read many articles, pamphlets and books in which divines and philosophers have endeavoured to plumb these deep waters"; and he states in the following nine propositions "the principles he has found in them":

1. That God is responsible for good but not for evil. He

is always and everywhere combating evil, but He cannot save us from evil except at the cost of extinguishing good, for evil is only the other side of good.

2. That God chasteneth whom He loveth, and that the sufferings of these times are proof of His care and love for us.

3. That God is punishing us for our sins, our sloth, our luxury, our neglect of religion, our materialism.

4. That death and suffering are not really evils but only seem so. That the lads and young men who have fallen in battle are the special objects of God's favour, and have received the reward reserved for the blessed.

5. That God guards the right, and we may trust Him to bring victory to our arms. [One preacher says that if the Germans won he would not preach another sermon or open his Bible again.]

6. That it is presumptuous to say what in the eyes of God is right or wrong in this human struggle. He may see it from a point of view which corresponds to none of our earthly tests.

[From that point of view, says one preacher, "we may all be wrong, and the only right which God may approve in us is that of holding firmly and, if need be, giving our lives for that fragment of truth which may be revealed to us." In that sense God equally approves the German who is loyal to his nation and the Englishman who is loyal to England.]

7. That the ways of God are unfathomable, and that we must walk in faith and believe that things are somehow good.

8. That to the King of the illimitable universe the most gigantic conflict in this world must be less than the struggle of microbes on a speck of dust.

9. That might is right, but "God sees to it that might in the long run is on the side of right."—[Attributed to Carlyle.]

These are what "Y" has understood to be the meaning of the several preachers and writers he has listened to. His general reflection on them is given in the following passage:

Some of the preachers try each argument in turn. Others combine contradictions, but use a maze of words to conceal the gaps: others discourse fervently on the love of God but attribute to Him processes which cannot be reconciled with any belief in His benevolence. You read or listen to a whole host of arguments consecrated by generations of pulpit usage, and are suddenly and for the first time smitten with a sense of their sophistry and casuistry. The unargued appeal to faith, hope, and charity in a world of devilry has irresistible charm and power, but these dialectical efforts to justify the ways of God to man baffle, irritate, repel, and will end by alienating a great many hitherto devout persons from the orthodox fold.

We are among the last to expect consistency from the preachers in pulpit or paper who, in a country distracted by religious divisions as is England, instruct and admonish their respective congregations to the best of their lights. We cannot, therefore, but feel amazed to find a critic like "Y" claiming to hold Christianity as a whole responsible for the consistency or inconsistency of these several propositions among themselves. Proposition 8 belongs to the armoury of the opponents of Christianity. Proposition 9, in its first clause, is likewise the flat denial of what all Christian moralists hold to be fundamental, whilst its second clause is either by implication the contradictory of the first, or is a reassertion of it in an absurd form. Proposition 5, in its second clause, if it is to bear the meaning a preacher is stated to have given it, expresses a feeling which is doubtless very common, but is unfortunately without a sufficient basis either in the teaching of the Bible or of the Church, or in the experience of the human race. Oftentimes in the history of mankind has it been permitted by God that the wicked should enjoy an earthly triumph over the righteous, a triumph sometimes of short, sometimes of long duration; and all that we are entitled to gather from the documents of the Christian revelation is that destruction is the ultimate lot of the wicked when the dread day comes, and that meanwhile their temporary triumphs will not make for their real happiness, but for their misery, whilst the adversities inflicted by them on the just will, if rightly taken by the latter, make for their purification and solid peace of heart, and ultimate triumph. The alleged remark of the preacher that, if the Germans were to win, he would never preach another sermon or open his Bible again, is simple blasphemy. What we can feel and may feel, in view of the absolute justice of our case in regard to the present war, is that it enables us to appeal to the mercy and protection of God with a clearness of conscience which is pleasing in His eyes, and has often inclined Him to give victory to the injured, if necessary by unexpected ways, as He did to Israel in the days of Sennacherib. As to Proposition 6, it exceeds gravely in laying down that "it is presumptuous to say what in God's eyes is right or wrong in this human struggle." We have written on our hearts, by the fingers of God, the same principles of right and wrong which He Himself recognizes, or rather which belong to the perfection of His own divine character. We cannot be mistaken as to the

nature of these, though we may be as to their application to particular cases, where the evidence of the facts is obscure or complicated. As to the application of these principles to the present war, we cannot be mistaken, because the evidence is too clear that the Central Empires are the aggressors, and that their motive is to be sought in the self-seeking ambition of their rulers to dominate the entire world, and exploit its industries for their own profit. We may appeal in proof of this, not merely to the diplomatic papers published at the beginning of the war, though these were demonstrative enough, but to the evidence as presented, with intimate knowledge of the facts from the German side, in the book called *J'accuse*, by one who can truthfully describe himself as "a German;—not a Frenchman, a Russian, or an Englishman; [but] a German who is uncorrupted and incorruptible; who is not bought and is not for sale; a German who loves his Fatherland like any one else; but just because he is a German wrote this book."

This same book also explains how the leaders of this vast aggressive movement contrived, by a system of organized mendacity, to make that considerable section of their fellow-subjects, who themselves had no such inordinate intentions, believe that the aggression came from the side of their opponents, and that they themselves were being called to take up arms against the invaders of their hearths and homes. And this explains in what sense God can be thought to approve the motives of those who are fighting against us, though it is difficult not to convict them of an irrational credulity in accepting at their face-value the statements of a Government which has never been remarkable for its veracity. The second sentence in Proposition 4 is defective—as it stands, in a way that makes it unlikely that any Christian minister, not of a quite erratic tendency, could have uttered it—that is to say, if it is to mean that dying in battle is enough of itself, apart from any Christian belief or Christian practice, to ensure the salvation of the man's soul. If the preacher who used it meant, as very likely he did, that the lads and young men of whom he was thinking had risked their lives in defence of their country, inspired by truly Christian motives, then he was saying only what was worthy of approval.

In the remaining propositions, that is to say, in those numbered 1, 2, 3, 7 and 4a, the preachers and writers affirm the

genuine Christian doctrine, as it is held by the Catholic Church, and by those Christian communities which are approximately orthodox. That is to say, in these propositions, they affirm what are integral parts of the true doctrine. "Y," by his comments on them, seems to imagine that a preacher, if he touches at all upon this subject of the divine permission of sin and suffering, and of the consequent injury inflicted on the innocent, must needs treat the question exhaustively in every sermon. But this would be impracticable. The preacher or writer has usually a limited time or space at his disposal, and has a limited class of people to address. Knowing his audience he knows how much he may presuppose as already understood by them, and accordingly he builds on this foundation, at one time confining himself to one aspect of the general subject, at another time to another. His method is perfectly rational, nor is he open to the criticisms of a writer like "Y," who, by making a list of these various affirmations belonging to different aspects of the one general subject, and mixing them up with others that have no Christian parentage at all, contrives to create the appearance of an inconsistency among the exponents of Christianity which is unreal. Thus the author of Proposition 1 may have been explaining how the gift to man of free will, which is in itself an endowment that lifts him so high above the irrational animals, involves the power to misuse it along with the power to use it aright, and how in this sense moral evil is the other side of moral good. Yet God is not responsible for the evil, inasmuch as the misuse of free will is against His precept, whereas the good use of it is in accordance with His desire and intention. The author of Proposition 2 was obviously speaking of the purpose which unmerited suffering at the hands of the unjust aggressor is meant to fulfil in regard to those who are striving to make God's will the rule of their lives. If these take what befalls them as divine chastening intended to wean their affections from excessive attachment to the things of earth, and bind them more closely to God, they are justified in cherishing it as proof of His care and love for them. The author of Proposition 3 is stating this same principle, but with its application to those whom, as the present religious revival in the belligerent countries so strikingly testifies, the sufferings caused by the war have brought back to God, by constraining them to realize more vividly the dreadful effects of human self-seeking and human

passions when left to run their own course, and the impotence of worldly and irreligious satisfactions to furnish a resting-place to the harassed soul in the midst of the all-pervading turmoil. Again, to say that "death and suffering are not really evils but only seem so," just as the surgeon's knife is not an evil so much as a good, is only to say what lies at the very root of the Christian religion; as it is likewise to say that this life is a life so ordained that the human will may find in it the discipline expedient for probation, which is a good not an evil, inasmuch as it prepares the soul for the eternal rewards that are to follow. These are the sound principles which, if we follow the teaching of the Christian Church and the Christian records, we shall recognize that God has given to be a light to our paths. They are principles which in their substance we can understand, and, if in some of their applications they surpass the comprehension of many of us, or even of all of us, our trust in the Fatherhood of God, made clear to us in so many ways, fully entitles us to take comfort in the thought that "the ways of God are unfathomable, and that we must walk in faith and believe that things are somehow good."

When these points are considered, it becomes evident how seriously "Y" has dislocated the whole of the case in his presentation of its outlines. But is there anything of solid truth in his attempt to get behind the explanation we have given, by contending that "to say that evil is the correlative of good is simply to throw back to the question why the All-powerful and All-loving has so constituted good that it must coexist with evil"; and "to say that suffering and death are necessary for the well-being of mankind is to be brought to the same impasse?" This further question may be raised in regard to the existence in the world of moral evil, that is to say, the evil springing from the misuse of free will; and likewise in regard to the existence of physical evil, that is to say of the calamities to sentient life springing from the occasional action of the physical agencies by which the course of physical nature is governed. We may be permitted to refer to articles on these two branches of the subject in *THE MONTH* for July and Sept. 1908, since republished apart as a C.T.S. tract entitled *The Problem of Evil*. In that tract the present writer is certainly not chargeable with stopping short at a point which does not go right down to the root of the difficulties wont to be brought against the Christian religion from the existence either of moral or of physical evil. But in the

brief comments for which alone there is space in the present article we must confine ourselves to what concerns moral evil, this being the aspect under which the subject is made topical just now, in view of the fearful carnage which men in the exercise of their free will are, rightly or wrongly, in accordance with their respective positions, inflicting on one another.

"Y" thinks that if God were both omnipotent and benevolent, He would of necessity either have created such beings as were incapable of misusing their free will, or would have bound Himself to interpose at every step to check the evil consequences of any misuse of free will He permitted. "Y" must have a fuller penetration into the essence of things than most of us have, if he can feel confident that such a system would have worked well, not to say vastly better than the system under which we are actually living. For our own part when thus invited to weigh the chances of its possibility, we are reminded of the remark of a writer on the same subject whom we imagine was the late Dr. Flint: "I fail to see that a thoroughly healthy and well-fed pig, not destined for the slaughter, is the highest conceivable type of happiness." But is this the ideal of happiness that commends itself to "Y," and does he really think it preferable to a system in which men are given the opportunity of proving their spiritual worth by fidelity under the discipline of such a commingling of pleasure and pain as the present life offers? This writer indeed suggests that, if a life free from the disturbing influences of pain, and marked by unalloyed happiness, is within the power of God to bestow hereafter, it must be equally possible for Him to bestow it on men during their earthly life. But this is because he quietly ignores the condition of probation essential to a transitory life which is the preparatory stage to the enduring life to follow after. That in this preparatory stage there should be something to suffer may be congruous, but it is quite intelligible that the life promised to those who have passed faithfully through their time of probation here should be a life of complete beatitude.

But what is "Y.'s" own solution of the problem he has raised? It is due to him to acknowledge that he does not take refuge in the utter denial of the existence of God. He would have us continue to believe in a good God, but exhorts us to surrender the doctrine that this good God is omnipotent—or, at all events, that He is as yet omnipotent. But we had better let him expound his view in his own words:

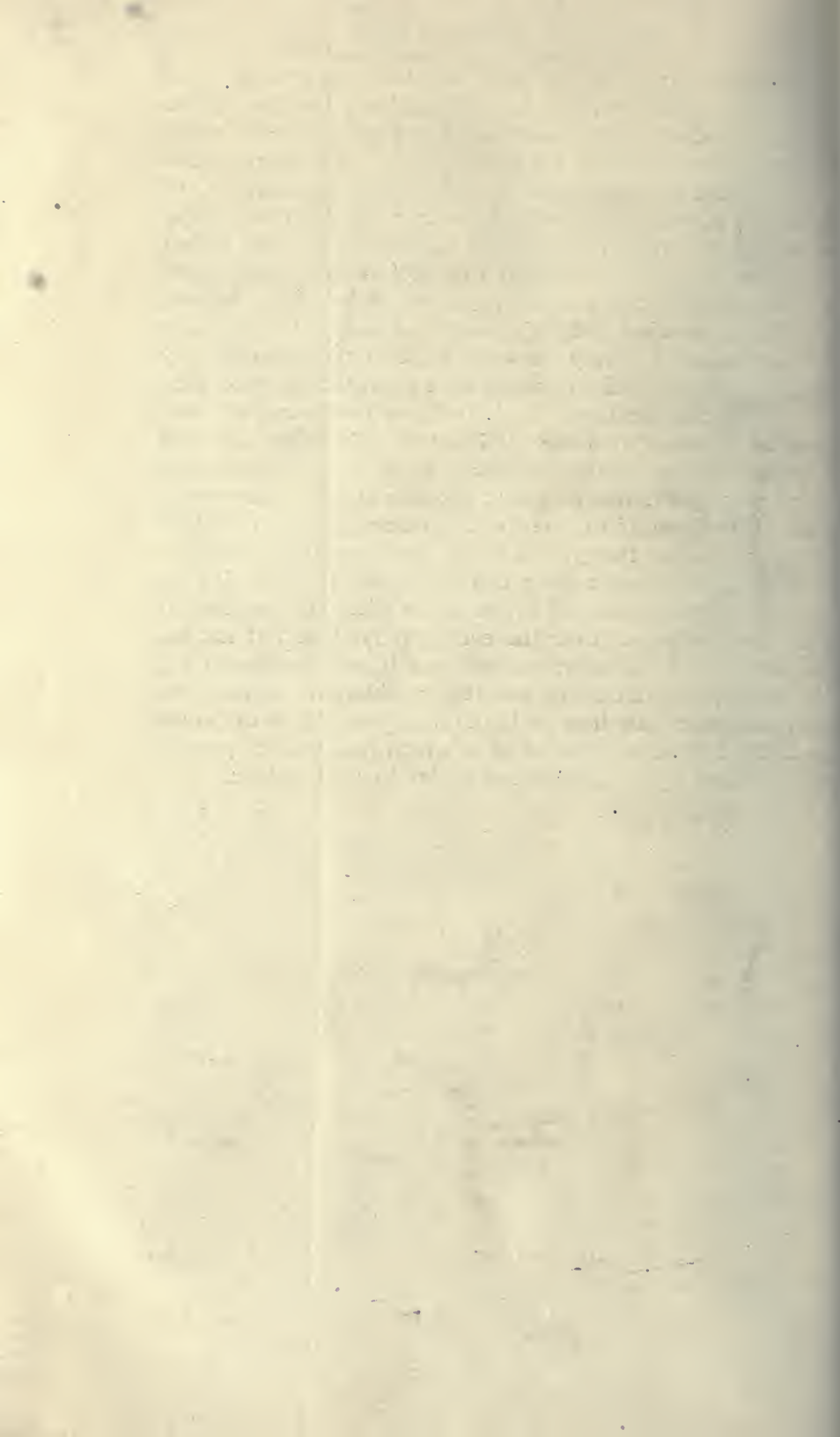
In the presence of all these difficulties, theology remains tangled

up in its own conception of Omnipotence—which brings us at best to the conclusion that God has so limited His own power as to permit the existence of evil and at worst invests Him with attributes which are the reverse of benevolent. William James has protested against the tyranny of monism in philosophy, and it is surely time to make a similar protest against the same tyranny in theology. Dualism does, indeed, run through the Bible in the picture which it consistently presents to us of good and evil, God and Devil, waging perpetual war together. [But does it run through the Bible that God and the Devil are both increate and independent spirits?] The effort to subdue dualism or to reconcile it with the monistic idea of one omnipotent benevolent God is, of course, a large part of the history of theology. But just as philosophy makes a pale ghost of its Absolute, so theology makes a dark tyrant of its Omnipotent. It cannot help itself so long as it is tied to the theory of an All-Powerful, who permits evil which, according to the definition of His powers, He is able to prevent.

The human mind has never given a real consent to this theory. It remains radically dualist, interpreting the cosmic process as a struggle between good and evil, matter and spirit, mind and matter. So it judges, and always will judge, unless compelled by authority to take a non-natural view of things. Is there any reason why theology should not put itself on the same ground and give over the scholastic idea of omnipotence which makes God responsible for the evil of the universe? When the Apostle says that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain until now," the modern man understands. [But did St. Paul mean his words to be taken in the sense of an ultimate dualism?] The image fits exactly with all that he has been taught to believe about the processes of nature. And if faith in God can be presented to us as belief in the far-off divine event to which creation tends, instead of homage to a Creator who fore-ordained the evil with the good before the foundation of the world, religion will again become acceptable to large numbers who are slipping away from the orthodox creeds. I heard a sincerely religious man say in all reverence the other day: "God has not yet succeeded in creating Himself." Students of M. Bergson's philosophy will understand his meaning. It is surely a tenable theology that creation is yet in process, and that it tends through struggle to the final but as yet unrealised victory, when the good spirit shall be omnipotent over the evil. At all events I am convinced that there are vast numbers of people to whom that thought will come as a relief from the pessimism in which they are plunged by the traditional belief in Omnipotence.

This is a facile way out of the difficulty, but, if theology so

persistently refuses to put itself on the same ground, is it not perhaps that theology, the theology, at all events, of the Catholic Church, which has studied this question with acute insight during so many centuries, sees in the theory difficulties which are overlooked by our modern *amateurs*? Are these two beings at war with each other self-existent beings, or beings that owe their existence to some other being or beings—for it is surely manifest that self-existent being must be the ultimate cause of whatever other being, or beings, are found to exist? If “Y” takes the latter alternative, is he not himself “simply throwing back to the question why that original self-existing being has so constituted good that it must co-exist with evil”? If he takes the former alternative, he is faced with the difficulty of explaining how two beings, with exactly the same reason for their existence, are so essentially different and even opposite in their characteristics. What, too, if this be the ultimate explanation of their existence, can be the ground of his confidence that the age-long struggle between these two independent spirits, is ever tending towards a far-off divine event when the good spirit shall be omnipotent over the evil? Why should it not be, for aught that the experience of past history can teach us, the evil spirit which will eventually triumph? And if so, what substance can there be in the thought which is to “come as a relief from the pessimism in which [numbers of people] are plunged by the traditional belief in Omnipotence”?



*Is the War a Failure for
Christianity?*

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

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IS THE WAR A FAILURE FOR CHRISTIANITY?

WHILST a section of our people have been impressed by the splendid manifestations of religious feeling which the war has evoked, and have even ventured to predict that of all its after-effects the one which can most surely be counted upon is an extended and deepened recognition of the vitality of the Christian religion and of its necessity for the prosperity of the nations, another section, which makes its voice heard from time to time, does not hesitate to claim the war itself with all the destruction of life and property it has caused, together with the flood of bitter international enmities it has let loose, as constituting a final and crushing demonstration of the failure of Christianity, which will be called upon when the war is over to stand aside and make way for a better system conceived on totally different lines. The *Hibbert Journal*, whose columns have become a recognized arena for the discussion of questions of this kind, has two articles in its January number which take in hand this particular problem. One, entitled *The definite Failure of Christianity and how it might be retrieved*, is by a lady who subscribes herself the "Organizing Secretary of the Sociological Society," the other entitled *Is Christianity practicable?* is by the American Professor, William Adams Brown, of Union Theological Seminary, New York. Of these the first advocates uncompromisingly the abandonment of Christianity as soon as the war is over, and the substitution of a system of her own devising, whilst the other concludes that, though Christianity has not given proofs of its practicability by its dealings with the present war, to do away with it altogether might only make things worse. Neither, indeed, of these articles is of much value for its insight into the conditions of the appalling situation in which we find ourselves, but we refer to them as convenient expressions of a mental attitude towards the religious aspects of the war problem which is active in some quarters, and is worthy of comparison as regards the motives on which it rests with those which influence the believers in a coming religious revival.

What impresses those who charge Christianity with failure is that a religion which stands for the peace and reconciliation of all the races of mankind should have been so long in existence, and even have been the dominating power in Europe for so many centuries, and yet have proved itself incapable of stopping, not to say preventing, an almost universal war of this fierce kind, in which the foremost belligerents on either side are nations of its own bringing up. Does not this prove that it is incompetent to achieve the principal object for which it was founded? And if so, is it not convicted of misrepresentation, or at all events of delusion, in advancing its pretensions to divine origin? This claim, it will be noticed, is in keeping with the general contention of those who find a disproof of the divine origin of Christianity in the persistence of evils which it shows itself unable to uproot from the moral soil of the nations, even of the nations it accounts to be Christian—for it is to the secularist class that these sociologists belong. The only difference is that, in the stupendous evils which the present war has caused, these people claim to find a final and irresistible demonstration of what they had already discerned in the normal experiences of human existence.

Secularists of this class might take up the position that, though they can denounce Christianity for its failure to remedy the ills of human society, it does not follow that they must be prepared to offer a substitute which will succeed where Christianity has failed. It may be that no substitute is practicable, and that humanity is merely experiencing the inevitable effects of its condition. It is enough in that case that its critics should be able to convict it of failing to justify the high pretensions clothed in which it has posed before the world for so long. This, however, though a strictly logical position to take up, is not one that can easily recommend itself to human optimism, and it is due to those whose criticism of Christianity we are considering to acknowledge that they do take upon themselves the responsibility of propounding a substitute in the adequacy of which they believe. At all events the two writers to whose articles we have called attention do this. Professor Adams Brown indeed does not altogether give up Christianity itself. He thinks that the war has arisen, not because the Christian religion has shown its powerlessness to prevent it, but that the principles of Christianity have not been applied to the subject, and he lays the blame for this on

the group of men temporarily in control of the policy of the leading European nations who have deliberately accepted the thesis of the social impracticability of Christianity, and the ecclesiastical authorities who in each of the European nations have taken their cue from the utterances of their respective governments, and with little or no criticism accepted the official point of view as their own.

We shall meet the Professor's criticisms presently by showing what the Church has done, and is doing, by way of applying the principles of Christianity to the war now going on. The "Secretary of the Sociological Society" is more downright. Leave out God, she would say, leave out Jesus Christ and the special doctrines and ordinances of the religion which reveres Him as its Founder, and let there be substituted a more solid recognition of the human brotherhood of man, without distinction of races and kingdoms; let there be, in short, a far extending, indeed universal, social league, organized somewhat after the manner of the Catholic Church, which, like it, has in view the welfare and prosperity of all sorts and conditions of men wherever they may be, but which, unlike it, does not fetter itself with an indissoluble attachment to old-world theories and discredited ideals; but, taught by the most recent experience, seeks to remove the sources of rivalry, in the firm belief that, if proper methods are pursued, it is possible to overcome the contentions that divide men among themselves, by reconciling the claims of each and all to stable happiness, and providing for all alike a sufficiency of the means of comfortable existence. This "Secretary of the Sociological Society," in advocating her alternative system, misrepresents Christianity by caricaturing its doctrines and ideals of life, as though "it were founded on the apotheosis of suffering" for suffering's sake, and made its main endeavour to induce men to submit with resignation to a lot of inevitable misery, instead of seeking to diffuse among them that reign of peace and gladness, of which the angels heralded the approach on the night of the Nativity. It is this apotheosis of suffering which she conceives to have failed, but, she urges, there is another Christianity, or at least another religion, founded on the cult of joy and unburdened with any doctrines that have to be harmonized with science, for it is harmony with science from the first. This deeper Christianity, she continues, has neither failed nor succeeded, for the simple reason that, unlike the form which has failed, it has never been fairly tried. Her

object in communicating her article to the *Hibbert Journal* is to propose that it should be given a trial forthwith, and to inaugurate the trial by drawing out the lines it should follow.

The gratitude of all is assured to any one who can successfully accomplish such a work. What then is her secret? Let us hear her expound it:

It is in the immaterial region of ideas that religious people ought to be strong and efficient. Their vocation consists in creating and maintaining a system of ideas that exclude hatred and malice and all uncharitableness. Their peace and goodwill ought to pervade the world irresistibly like sunshine, and they ought to make their universe of genial and robust thoughts so attractive that even outlaws of the German stamp feel its charm, and wish to strive to be both in it and of it.

That this is to be desired and worked for we shall all agree, but some might deem it hard to attain. On the contrary, we are assured that it is about the easiest thing in the world to attain, even with the completeness without which it would be insufficient to realize our mentor's expectations.

There is no doubt that if within the last forty years [Christians] had spent a third of the trouble and cleverness on producing such an atmosphere that the nations of Europe have devoted to the science and art of war, no human heart would have entertained any of the brutality by which men are discrediting civilisation to-day.

This is highly interesting, but could not our wise mentor have explained to us with a little more definiteness and detail the nature of the course which, had we taken it during the period intimated, must have led us on to so splendid an achievement? For it is not as if we had been wholly inactive in our endeavours to promote works of benevolence and to cultivate cordial relations between the different nations during these forty years that have elapsed since the terrible Franco-Prussian war. On the contrary, when one reflects on the records of this particular period, one cannot but feel that it stands out in history as a time that has been specially fruitful in the establishment and development of Christian works of this very sort tending to promote benevolence, cordiality and friendliness between classes and countries, works all inspired and maintained by just that spirit of zeal and devotedness which our critics de-

siderate, works, moreover, which seemed to be achieving a signal success in bringing the nations together, right up to the fateful moment when the dogs of war were let loose by a party who conceived themselves to be supermen, with the consequent right and power to hold all the rest in abject servitude. We are speaking, it is true, of that species of Christianity which we take to be the purest, and which, by general acknowledgment, is the most widely-spread and highly-organized and united. But it is true also in proportion of other forms of religion, in England at least, whether also in Germany we are not in a position to say. In what then have we all deflected from the plan which in our critic's judgment was so certain to have led to a success that would have made the war impossible?

She has a long passage in which she might claim to have responded to this our demand, so let us hear it, though it is not likely that our readers will find it particularly instructive:

Since conduct is initiated and guided not by single ideas or by a mysterious kind of homunculus called the Will, but by many trains and clusters of ideas, it is evident that if men shut all thoughts of enmity out of their minds and cultivated benevolence until it became the mental atmosphere in which every one lived and moved and had his being, they would no longer bring disease and wars and famines and other miseries into existence. . . . What the religionists of to-day have to do to make this ideal effective is to leave enmities and complaints alone and give their whole energy to the promotion of charity and goodwill. They must imbue the minds of all men with peace and *bonhomie* and cheerfulness. . . . They must aim not at the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but at the greatest happiness of every one; and they must never for a moment consider this enterprise extravagant. . . . A closer study of individuals than even psychologists have yet attempted will show that every one is different from every one else. Each can fill some niche that no one else would occupy so well; and there need be no competition between either individuals or nations, which involves envy on the one hand and self-sacrifice on the other. To find the particular work and the social position that suits any given man or woman is not so difficult as it seems, for ambitions are limited by experience. . . . If by a royal decree perfect freedom to choose his own way of life could be granted to every one, the proclamation would not make a ploughman wish to be a barrister, or a cheesemonger to be a physician, a member of parliament, or a dignitary of the Church.

This authoress is not too favourably disposed towards Germans, and has several sharp hits at them in her article. None the less, she would have them brought within the scope of these operations for the establishment of universal well-being, which she desires to see set in motion. Nor does she anticipate much difficulty in bringing them in. All that is needful is apparently to convert them to the sort of "orientation of ideas which is wont to change peoples' natures"; and we all know how easy it is to exercise that kind of influence.

In Germany there are hundreds of thousands of people who will not give a moment's thought to English work of any description, [but] they could hardly keep up this ludicrous contempt if international institutions for good-humoured social intercourse were established in their midst.

Our readers will become impatient, if we quote much more of this sociological lady's prescription for the healing of the world's social maladies by the application of jam-poultices. But we have ventured to call a passing attention to it, not for its own sake, although the *Hibbert Journal* has not thought it unworthy of being laid before the public, but because it illustrates, by a sort of *reductio ad absurdum*, the radical error inherent in all the schemes of those who take scandal at what they are pleased to consider the failures of Christianity, and are confident that if men would only consent to apply their *nostrums* they could enable them quickly to transform the world, now so torn by wars and other evils, into an earthly paradise. For the fatal error of all these would-be social physicians, of the anti-Christo-pathic school, is that they have very little practical acquaintance with mankind, and so set man before their eyes, not as he is *in rerum natura* with a will full of stubborn determination, and if need be, resistance, together with an inveterate propensity to serve the egotisms of the personality whose instrument it is, but in an abstract conception which exhibits him as singularly pliant to the exhortations of the theorists themselves. Thus conceiving of him they sit down in their studies to prescribe for him, or meet in congresses to form their plans for his improvement, persuaded that at the mere sound of the uncouth word altruism, he will divest himself at once of all his refractory egotisms, and find not only his contentment, but also his delight in living entirely for the benefit of others. These theorists, like the one whose article we are considering, are always

clamouring for an opportunity to have their schemes put into practice, and complaining that such opportunities are never given them. As a matter of fact they have either been given them, or have taken them, frequently, and always with deplorable results. Take, for instance, the whole history of our neighbours across the Channel for the last hundred years or so, that is, from the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789 onwards. The leaders of that movement started from the belief that man's nature is good in itself, and that if in his past history he has degraded himself often by enmities and conflicts, this was due to the evil system under which he had always lived. Let him now be emancipated from servitude to discredited dogmas and tyrannies, and placed under the government of his own free thought and the principles of positive science, then a marvellous transformation would be effected. Under the governance of liberty, equality and fraternity would flourish, together with every other virtue, and the soil of human society would be converted into a veritable earthly paradise. Then, as said the ex-Abbé Grégoire, from the tribune of the Convention, "virtue and probity will be the order of the day, and this order will be eternal." The new age was thus to begin with a baptism of social regeneration, and a special festival was held to commemorate the occasion. On the ground where once had stood the Bastille, a colossal statue of a woman to represent Nature was erected, from whose breasts poured forth water as from a fountain, whilst the President of the Convention led the way in drinking from this sacred source, whilst he addressed nature in these terms:

O nature, thou sovereign of savage and civilised alike, this assemblage of the people that gather round at thy feet with the first rays of the sun, is worthy of thee, for now it is free it is from thy breast, from this sacred source, that it drinks, and having recovered its rights it has become regenerate. After having wandered for so many years amidst errors and servitudes it has come back to the simplicity of thy ways to find Liberty and Equality. . . . May these waters . . . consecrate in this cup of Fraternity and Equality the oaths that France makes to thee on this the brightest day on which the sun has looked down since it was first hung up in the immensity of space.

So the new age began, but who will say that the promises thus fulsomely expressed have been realized? The years that at once followed have been called, by the general consent of the whole world, the Reign of Terror, as being a time of do-

mestic strife when it was just the quiet-living and tender-hearted that were picked out to be the victims of persecution and carnage; a time too of international strife, the like of which had never been experienced before, although it fell far short of the carnage of the war in which we are now engaged. Since that time of horror France has passed through many political vicissitudes. At times she has been ruled over by Kings and Emperors, or has been under Republican institutions, administered by the same type of men as those who controlled her fortunes at the end of the eighteenth century. For the last half century it is these latter that have been in power. The principles of 1789 have been resumed by these in their entirety. The characteristic motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," is inscribed on the front of every public building, but no one who is not a persecuting fanatic would say that the boasted ideal they are supposed to express has been realized. Rather the reality which the experience of a century has taught the world to associate with this threefold maxim is that of a regime administered by atheists, whose primary object is to deprive of their liberty of conscience, reduce to a state of civil inferiority, and pursue with the bitterest enmity all who claim their essential right to live themselves, and bring up their children to live, in accordance with the teaching and precepts of the Holy Catholic Church. What wonder if in consequence, instead of converting their country into the earthly paradise predicted, they have destroyed its unity by dividing its sons into two hostile parties, which only the stern exigencies of self-defence against a ruthless invader have availed to render quiescent for a while.

It would be easy to supply other examples of the impotence of these secularist theories for eliminating wars and other conflicts, domestic or international, by vain attempts to give to each and all the good things they are bent on having. But this one example must suffice to illustrate the undoubted historical fact that no system of human brotherhood, unsupported by an active and practical recognition of the dependence of men upon God as their Creator and upon Christ as their Redeemer, has had this sort of success in the past, or would have been likely to have had it if applied to the war now raging. Indeed, as regards this last point the illustration given is particularly appropriate, inasmuch as it was France on whom fell, in the first instance, the necessity of meeting the German challenge, and the rulers who represented France

at that critical moment, were precisely the men who held these secularist ideas about human brotherhood; and, as is shown by the Courses of Moral Instruction which at their instigation had been taught in the official schools for some decades past, believed firmly in their power to heal the social ills of humanity, if only the Catholic religion could be suppressed.

Let us now return to the charge brought against the Christian religion, and see if it can be sustained against her that she has proved herself to be perfectly helpless in the face of the calamities brought on by this present war or by previous wars. And to begin with we must insist that the Catholic Church (for to her, as to the most authentic expression of Christianity, we must confine ourselves here, leaving what we contend for as regards her to be applied in due proportion to the other Christian bodies), has never made the egregious mistake of under-estimating the reality and strength of men's resistance even to the best authorized movements for the good of humanity, when they come into collision with their cherished egotisms. The warnings of her Divine Founder, though He promised her guidance and protection, and assured her of the marvellous success that should attend her mission to the world, never encouraged her in the delusion that her task would be easy, or that she would meet with a ready welcome and not rather a stubborn opposition from the powers of the world, which would band together to fight her down, inflicting on her children, and especially on their spiritual leaders, unceasing persecutions and martyrdoms. Just before His Passion, our Lord stood with His chosen disciples, admiring the beautiful stones of the Temple on Mount Moriah, and announcing their forthcoming overthrow. He then used the occasion to foretell to them in outline what should be throughout the ages the destiny of the Church He was choosing them as His instruments to found.

Take heed [he said to them solemnly] that no man deceive you. For many shall come in my name saying I am Christ, and shall deceive many. And you shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, yet see that you be not troubled, for all these things shall come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise up against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and there shall be famines and pestilences and earthquakes in divers places. All these things are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and you shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake. . . . And because

iniquity shall abound the love of many shall wax cold. But he that shall endure to the end he shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to the nations, and then shall the end come.

To the forewarnings of the Master were added the instructions of the Apostles. "From whence are wars and contentions among you? [says St. James (iv. 8)]. Come they not hence,—from your concupiscences, which war in your members? You covet and have not. You kill and envy, and cannot obtain. You contend and war." And that these concupiscences would go on to the end, stirring up wars and contentions, was predicted, with special view to the last days, by St. Paul in his second Epistle to St. Timothy:

Know also this that in the last days shall come dangerous times. Men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty, proud; blasphemers, disobedient to parents, ungrateful, wicked; without affection, without peace, slanderers, incontinent, unmerciful, without kindness; traitors, stubborn, puffed up, and lovers of pleasures more than of God; having an appearance indeed of piety, but denying the power thereof. Now these avoid.

Such were the foreshadowings of their future task under which the apostles and their successors entered upon the discharge of their commission; and we, who can look back, are aware how the fulfilment accorded with the prediction. It is not necessary to repeat the oft-told story of the fierce opposition under which they had to press their way forward, facing persecution after persecution of the severest kind at the hands of the pagan Emperors for nearly three centuries; then in succession at the hands of the heretical Emperors who succeeded Constantine; of the leaders of the northern tribes, which breaking in upon the territory of the Western Empire, created for the Church an entirely new situation to deal with; of the self-willed mediæval sovereigns who, if they were Catholics at heart, and evinced at times sentiments of the most edifying piety, were incessantly opposing themselves to spiritual measures of vital importance for the religious welfare of their people; at the hands again of heretical sovereigns, who at the time of the Reformation, or since, went over to Protestantism; and finally at the hands of atheistic rulers in this present age of revived paganism. How could it be expected that the Church, having to struggle for the right under these untoward conditions, should at all times

have been able to stop at once by her mere remonstrances, which have usually been the only weapon at her disposal, the many wars which self-seeking and imperious rulers have incessantly been waging against one another, or even against the Church herself, for the destruction of her influence over their subjects? Yet she has been far from showing herself callous or indifferent to the sufferings of her children when at war.

Over and over again through the ages has she pressed her exhortations when war has broken out, or propitious occasions have seemed to offer during the course of hostilities, appealing in the tenderest language to the hearts of the belligerent leaders, beseeching them to reflect on the appalling loss of life, on the number of bereft families, the ruined homes, the far-reaching destruction of the means of subsistence which their action is causing; and pleading with them in the name of their Lord and Saviour who died for them and loves them all alike. Sometimes these Papal remonstrances have succeeded in restoring peace, sometimes they have failed to move the leaders addressed; and this latter is what has happened in the present war. But we ought not to allow ourselves to forget the burning words with which Benedict XV. has more than once pleaded for the restoration of peace, particularly those he employed last July on the completion of the full year of warfare which, as he expressed it, had "transformed Europe into one vast battlefield." Last September we gave in these pages an abstract of this Papal address, and vindicated the pure motives which inspired it from the uncalled-for misrepresentations of some in this country who refused to see in it more than a device for alluring the Allies into the acceptance of an inconclusive peace, which would enable their opponents to prepare for another and still more terrible war to be opened after a few years' delay. What the Holy Father asked for was that the combatants should lay aside their wrath and discuss the character of their grievances, real or supposed, in the light of purely Christian principles, with the view of entering on a reconciliation which, being sincere in its motives and such as our Lord could bless, would show a solid promise of enduring. But we must not repeat what we said in the former article, for we are referring now to this appeal from the Apostolic See solely as a pertinent instance of the efforts the Church is making to bring Christian influences to bear on the combatants. And in this

same connexion we must remind our readers how, on finding himself unable to induce the belligerents to stop the war, the Holy Father rendered the world a solid service and mitigated the lot of the prisoners, by procuring a system of regular exchanges, and arranging for the better care of wounded prisoners belonging to both sides, in Switzerland.

But these are comparatively secondary features in the grand work of christianizing the war which the Catholic Church has been undertaking. Primarily the Catholic Church exists to care for the souls of men by leading them to Heaven, and if her action is also beneficial to them in regard to their earthly life, this is because the virtues which conduct men heavenwards are also those which fit them best for living together in this life, united in the bonds of charity, honouring and serving one another. The Church therefore is doing a splendid service to the cause of human brotherhood when she addresses herself to the individual souls, speaking to them of faith and charity, of sorrow for sin and other Christian duties, and that is what she has been doing with extended and consoling success during the present war. Our Sociological Secretary finds it hard to understand how people can call the war "a divine Providence for purging Europe of its iniquities." God, she should know, is not regarded by us as the cause of wars. What they are the outcome of is the sin and selfishness of the unjust aggressors. But He permits wars thus caused to happen, in the knowledge that good can come out of evil. And of the good thus brought out of evil one element is that the Christian soldier, living as he does habitually in the consciousness that each new day that dawns for him may well be his last, has the thought of death always before him, and cannot but continually be asking himself, Am I prepared to meet it? Under these influences the faith that is in him and the pious practices first taught him in childhood by his truly Christian mother, are supports he clings to as to the very anchors of his soul, and he cherishes them more than ever, or returns to them fondly after a time of back-sliding; or, it may be, the *anima naturaliter Christiana* within him wins him over to a love of them, though in youth deprived of them by the fault of others, for now he learns their value by seeing what they are to those around him. And then the clergy who were his trusted friends in youth, brought by their self-sacrifice to his side in the hour of his need, are welcomed with filial gratitude, their counsels and encourage-

ments are willingly listened to, and the Sacraments sought for at their hands. Particularly in these days of danger does the Catholic soldier welcome the opportunity, when it occurs, of joining in the Sacrifice of the Mass, said it may be by a priest with the humblest accompaniments, in some tent, or cave, or ruined church, on which the shells are falling even whilst the august rite is being celebrated. Thus strengthened with the Bread of Life he goes forth into the midst of the battle, with a calm confidence that whatever befalls him the gate of Heaven stands open before him.

It is this which is meant when it is claimed that the war has been the means of evoking among the troops, and not among the troops only, a striking religious revival. It is this which is meant when it is claimed that the war has been "a divine Providence for purifying Europe from its iniquities"; in other words, that it has caused many to enter into themselves and seek remission of their sins, who but for the stimulus of this revival might have persisted till it was too late, in turning a deaf ear to the call of grace. To attain, however, to an intimate realization of what this providential reawakening has been, some suitable account of the incidents of the revival should be read. For the French army, in which the revival has been the most marked of all, several such books are obtainable, but we would particularly recommend *Les Soutanes sous la Mitraille*, by the Prêtre-Infirmier, M. René Gaëll. It is a book full of reality, based mainly on letters from the Front, and describing his own experiences of the spirit and piety of the men, written by another French priest, who paid at length the price of his self-sacrifice, slain by the bullets of the foe. One would have liked to cite some of the facts, but it would be necessary to cite a great deal if one wished to convey an adequate impression of the facts. Touching incidents of a similar kind have been told of the Catholic troops in the British army, some of which have been preserved in the columns of *The Tablet* and other Catholic papers. The columns of the Anglican and Nonconformist religious organs can tell of incidents proving that the war has had like effect among the Protestant troops. Nor must we leave out of account what is recorded of the German troops. About the German Protestant troops we can say nothing, for we know nothing; but it is generally believed that, thanks to the extensive ultra-rationalism of their clergy, there is little vital Christianity to be found at the present time in that quarter.

As regards the Catholic German troops the manifesto of the "German Catholics," published in the *Kölnische Volkzeitung* of June 17, 1915, testifies that "millions (?) of Catholic soldiers in the German army, under the impulse of a devotion that was sincere and profound, received the Sacrament before setting out for the war," and, according to the army chaplains, "have maintained this religious earnestness throughout the danger and fatigues of the war." It is what we should have expected from them; and we claim it as a further illustration of the action of the Christian religion on the combatants. We are prepared, too, to believe that it was not these who were guilty of the atrocities that have been brought home to some sections of the German army by tested evidence of the most authentic kind. But no one that we know of ever said they were.

Here, however, we may leave the subject, for we have sufficiently indicated the quarter to which those should turn who are tempted to think that Christianity has shown itself a failure in its action on the present war.

